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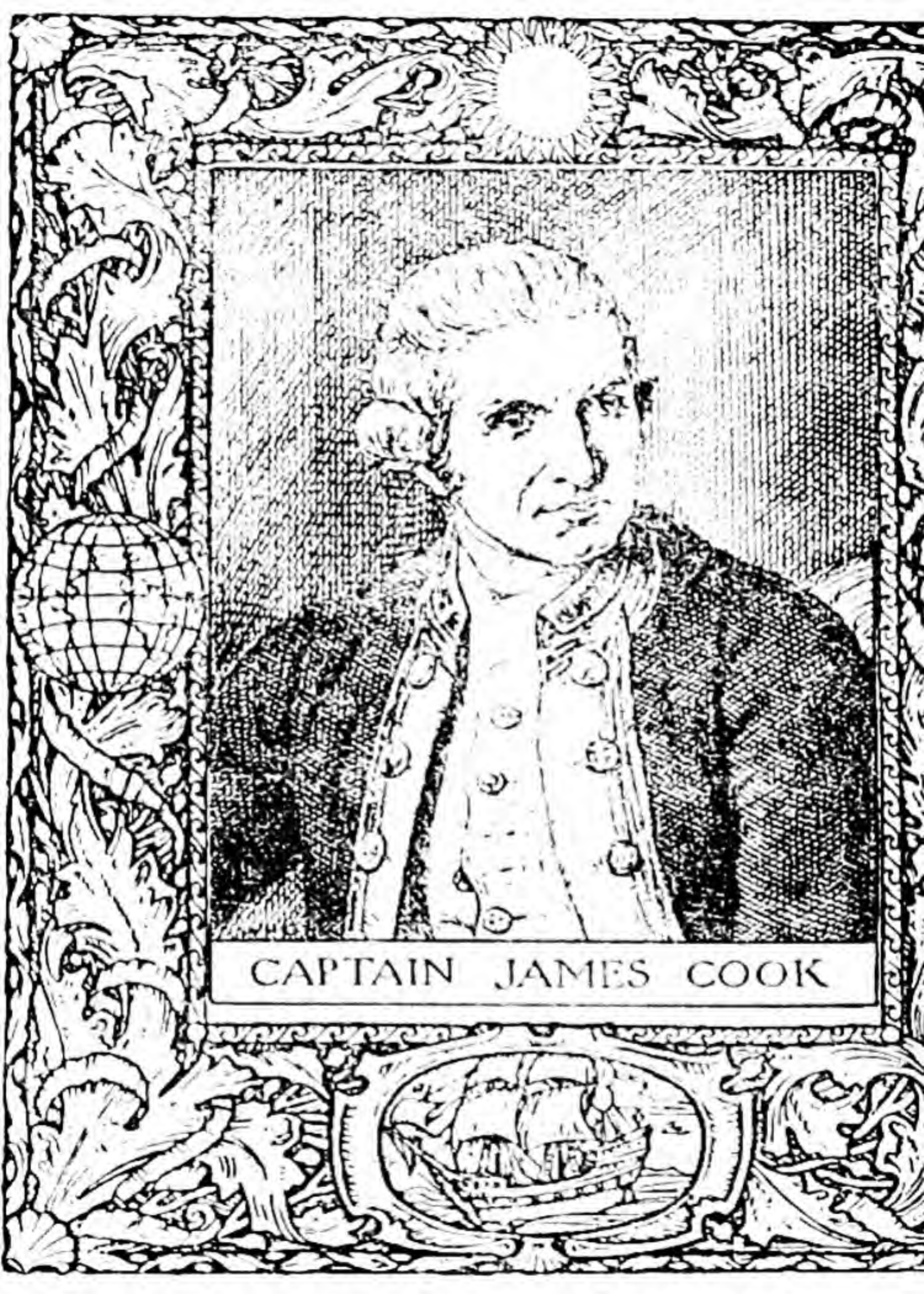
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## INTRODUCTION

JAMES COOK was born in 1728, of humble stock, in the little Yorkshire village of Marton. He had slight schooling. The sole relic of his early years is a pump in the garden. The achievements of his manhood have given the world the great continent of Australia, with New Zealand and innumerable smaller islands, and, instead of a vague world-map showing a vast and largely imaginary southern land stretching round the South Pole, the first full and accurate charts of the Pacific and Antarctic oceans. And whereas in long voyages before Cook's time the tale of misery and death from fever and scurvy was so appalling that it often accounted for half the crew, even before his final voyage the scourge had practically disappeared.

At thirteen he was apprenticed to a Mr. Sanderson, who kept a little general store at Staithes, where he worked all day under threat of the stick, slept under the counter at night, and in his scant free time listened to the tales of sailormen down by the tiny harbour. At fourteen he ran away, shipped aboard a collier at Whitby, and began the life of his choice. He reached the position of mate.

Then came the Seven Years' War ; Cook volunteered for active service as A.B., and was sent out to America. At once he made his mark, and when barely thirty was actually given command of the *Mercury*, and sent to join Admiral Saunders, who was besieging Quebec. There he was given the difficult and dangerous work of charting the channel of the St. Lawrence right up to the French lines. He worked at night in peril of his life—on one occasion Indians leapt on to the stern of his boat as he jumped off the bows—and he did his work so well that it has never been found necessary to rechart the channel. How he had found time to make himself an expert surveyor and cartographer, to study

Land, New Zealand, Otaheite, and the Friendly Islands. Then course was set for North America. The Sandwich Islands were discovered in February, the mainland of America sighted in March, 1778. All summer they explored the coast from Oregon northwards, through the Bering Strait, right up to Icy Cape, enduring storm and hardship and privation without complaint; but there was no sign of an ice-free north-east passage; and Captain Cook decided to return to Hawaii in the Sandwich Islands.

Then came the end. The natives were celebrating victory when they arrived, and mistook the Englishmen for the great god Lono and his immortal company. Divine honours were offered; and strangely enough Cook accepted them—perhaps because he was prepared to accept anything that made for the success of the expedition. Trouble soon began, when it became apparent that the entertainment of a god was an exceedingly expensive affair; while the death of one of the immortal crew, and his burial on the island, put a certain strain on even native credulity. Quarrels became frequent; sticks and stones were freely used; and Cook decided to sail away, much to everybody's relief.

Within a week the *Resolution* had sprung her foremast, and they were back again. Trouble began immediately. One of the cutters was stolen, and Captain Cook put ashore in some force to effect restitution. Natives crowded the beach, armed and excited. Stones were thrown, and there was some firing. Cook turned, and as he did so was stabbed in the back and speared. He fell dead into the water.

Thus died Captain Cook at the age of fifty-one. He was a hard man, and a friendless man in the intimate sense, but his indomitable perseverance and courage, his disdain of comfort, his calmness and capacity in danger, and his simple-minded singleness of purpose, have, with his stupendous achievements, marked him as one of the greatest of Englishmen.

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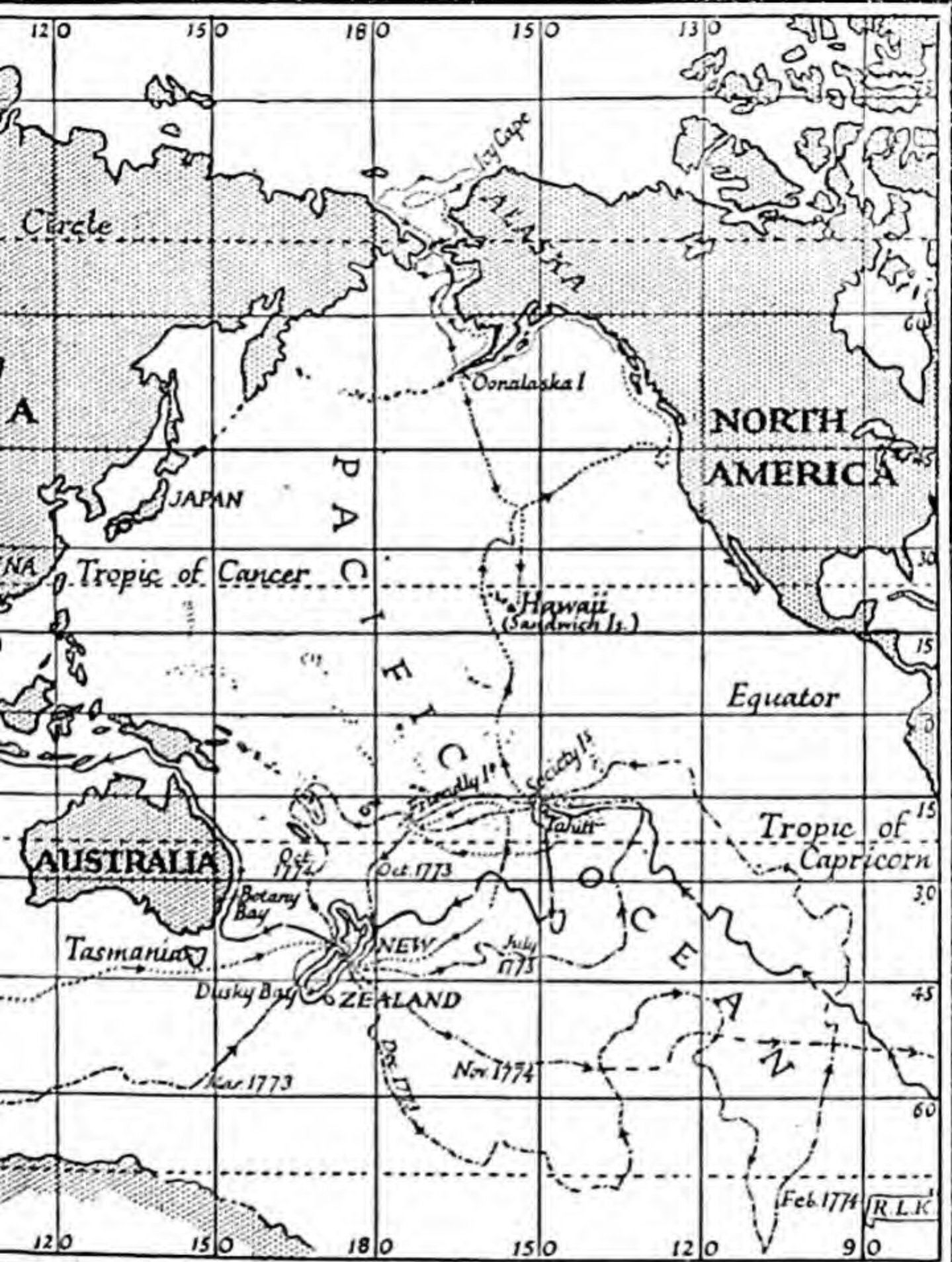
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—→ = First Voyage 1768-1771

- - - - -> = Second Voyage 1771-1775



Voyage 1772-1775

.....→..... = Third Voyage 1776-1779





FIRST VOYAGE

TO THE SOUTH SEAS AND ROUND THE WORLD IN  
THE BARQUE *ENDEAVOUR* IN THE YEARS  
1768, 1769, 1770, AND 1771

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## CHAPTER I

MAY 1768 TO JANUARY 1769

THE START FROM PLYMOUTH—AT MADEIRA—TENERIFFE—A LUMINOUS SEA—OFF THE COAST OF BRAZIL—TIERRA DEL FUEGO—THE INHABITANTS—WHAT HAPPENED IN CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN TO SEARCH FOR PLANTS.

HAVING received my commission, which was dated the 25th of May, 1768, I went on board on the 27th, hoisted the pennant, and took charge of the ship, which then lay in the basin in Deptford-yard. She was fitted for sea with all expedition; and stores and provisions being taken on board, sailed down the river on the 30th of July, and on the 13th of August anchored in Plymouth Sound.

While we lay here waiting for a wind, the articles of war and the act of Parliament were read to the ship's company, who were paid two months' wages in advance, and told that they were to expect no additional pay for the performance of the voyage.

On Friday, the 26th of August, the wind becoming fair, we got under sail, and put to sea. On the 31st, we saw several of the birds which the sailors call Mother Carey's Chickens, and which they suppose to be the forerunners of a storm; and on the next day we had a very hard gale, which brought us under our courses, washed over-board a small boat belonging to the boatswain, and drowned three or four dozen of our poultry, which we regretted still more.

On Friday, the 2d of September, we saw land between Cape Finisterre and Cape Ortegal, on the coast of Galicia, in Spain; and on the 5th, by an observation of the sun and moon, we found the latitude of Cape Finisterre to be  $42^{\circ} 53'$  north, and its longitude  $8^{\circ} 46'$  west, our first meridian being always supposed to pass through Greenwich; variation of the needle  $21^{\circ} 4'$  west.

On the 12th, we discovered the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, and on the next day anchored in Funchal road, and moored with the stream-anchor: but, in the night, the bend of the hawser of the stream-anchor slipped, owing to the negligence of the person who had been employed to make it fast. In the morning the anchor was heaved up into the boat, and carried out to the southward; but in heaving it again, Mr. Weir, the master's mate, was carried overboard by the buoy-rope, and went to the bottom with the anchor; the people in the ship saw the accident, and got the anchor up with all possible expedition; it was, however, too late.

When the island of Madeira is first approached from the sea, it has a very beautiful appearance, the sides of the hills being entirely covered with vines almost as high as the eye can distinguish; and the vines are green when every kind of herbage, except where they shade the ground, and here and there by the sides of a rill, is entirely burnt up, which was the case at this time.

The refreshments to be had here are water, wine, fruit of several sorts, onions in plenty, and some sweetmeats; fresh meat and poultry are not to be had without leave from the governor, and the payment of a very high price.

We took in 270 lb. of fresh beef, and a live bullock, charged at 613 lb., 3,032 gallons of water, and ten tons of wine; and in the night, between Sunday the 18th and Monday the 19th of September, we set sail in prosecution of our voyage.

On Friday the 23d we saw the Peak of Teneriffe.

In the evening of the 29th, we observed that luminous appearance of the sea which has been so often mentioned by navigators, and of which such various causes have been assigned; some supposing it to be occasioned by fish, which agitated the water by darting at their prey, some by



the putrefaction of fish and other marine animals, some by electricity, and others referring it into a great variety of different causes. It appeared to emit flashes of light exactly resembling those of lightning, only not so considerable; but they were so frequent that sometimes eight or ten were visible almost at the same moment. We were of opinion that they proceeded from some luminous animal, and upon throwing out the casting net our opinion was confirmed: it brought up a species of the *Medusa*, which, when it came on board, had the appearance of metal violently heated, and emitted a white light; with these animals were taken some very small crabs, of three different species, each of which gave as much light as a glow-worm, though the creature was not so large by nine-tenths: upon examination of these animals Mr. Banks had the satisfaction to find that they were all entirely new.

On the 8th Nov., at day-break, we saw the coast of Brazil, and about ten o'clock we brought to, and spoke with a fishing-boat: the people on board told us that the land which we saw lay to the southward of Santo Espirito, but belonging to the captainship of that place.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on board this vessel, in which they found eleven men, nine of whom were blacks: they all fished with lines; and their fresh cargo, the chief part of which Mr. Banks bought, consisted of dolphins, large pelagic scombers of two kinds, sea-bream, and some of the fish which, in the West Indies, are called Welshmen. Mr. Banks had taken Spanish silver with him, which he imagined to be the currency of the continent, but to his great surprise the people asked him for English shillings; he gave them two, which he happened to have about him, and it was not without some dispute that they took the rest of the money in pistereens. Their business seemed to be to catch large fish at a good distance from

the shore, which they salted in bulk, in a place made for that purpose in the middle of their boat: of this merchandize they had about two quintals on board, which they offered for about 16 shillings, and would probably have sold for half the money. The fresh fish, which was bought for about nineteen shillings and sixpence, served the whole ship's company: the salt was not wanted.

About eight o'clock this evening it began to blow very hard in sudden gusts from the south, and our long-boat coming on board just at this time with four pipes of rum, the rope which was thrown to her from the ship, and which was taken hold of by the people on board, unfortunately broke, and the boat, which had come to the ship before the wind, went adrift to windward of her, with a small skiff of Mr. Banks's that was fastened to her stern. This was a great misfortune, as the pinnace being detained on shore, we had no boat on board but a four-oared yawl: the yawl, however, was immediately manned and sent to her assistance; but, notwithstanding the utmost effort of the people in both boats, they were very soon out of sight: far, indeed, we could not see at that time in the evening, but the distance was enough to convince us that they were not under command, which gave us great uneasiness, as we knew they must drive directly upon a reef of rocks which ran out just to leeward of where we lay: after waiting some hours in the utmost anxiety, we gave them over for lost, but, about three o'clock the next morning, had the satisfaction to see all the people come on board in the yawl. From them we learnt, that the long-boat having filled with water, they had brought her to a grappling, and left her; and that, having fallen in with the reef of rocks in her return to the ship, they had been obliged to cut Mr. Banks's little boat adrift.

The people now beginning to complain of cold, each of

them received what is called a Magellanic jacket and a pair of trousers. The jacket is made of a thick woollen stuff called *Fearnought*, which is provided by the government. We saw, from time to time, a great number of penguins, albatrosses, and sheerwaters, seals, whales, and porpoises; and on the 11th, having passed Falkland's islands, we discovered the coast of Terra del Fuego, at the distance of about four leagues, extending from the W. to S.E. by S. We had here five-and-thirty fathom, the ground soft, small slate stones. As we ranged along the shore to the S.E., at the distance of two or three leagues, we perceived smoke in several places, which was made by the natives, probably as a signal, for they did not continue it after we had passed by.

At two o'clock we anchored in the bay of Good Success, and after dinner I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, to look for a watering-place, and speak to the Indians, several of whom had come in sight. We landed on the starboard side of the bay near some rocks, which made smooth water and good landing: thirty or forty of the Indians soon made their appearance at the end of a sandy beach on the other side of the bay, but seeing our number, which was ten or twelve, they retreated. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander then advanced about one hundred yards before us, upon which two of the Indians returned, and, having advanced some paces towards them, sat down: as soon as they came up the Indians rose, and each of them having a small stick in his hand threw it away, in a direction both from themselves and the strangers, which was considered as the renunciation of weapons in token of peace: they then walked briskly towards their companions, who had halted at about fifty yards behind them, and beckoned the gentlemen to follow, which they did. They were received with many uncouth



signs of friendship ; and, in return, they distributed among them some beads and ribbons, which had been brought on shore for that purpose, and with which they were greatly delighted. A mutual confidence and good-will being thus produced, our parties joined : the conversation, such as it was, became general ; and three of them accompanied us back to the ship. When they came on board, one of them, whom we took to be a priest, performed much the same ceremonies which M. Bougainville describes, and supposes to be an exorcism. When he was introduced into a new part of the ship, or when any thing that he had not seen before caught his attention, he shouted with all his force for some minutes, without directing his voice either to us or his companions.

They ate some bread and some beef, but not apparently with much pleasure, though such part of what was given them as they did not eat they took away with them ; but they would not swallow a drop either of wine or spirits : they put the glass to their lips, but, having tasted the liquor, they returned it, with strong expressions of disgust. Curiosity seems to be one of the few passions which distinguish men from brutes ; and of this our guests appeared to have very little. They went from one part of the ship to another, and looked at the vast variety of new objects that every moment presented themselves, without any expression either of wonder or pleasure. After having been on board about two hours, they expressed a desire to go ashore. A boat was immediately ordered, and Mr. Banks thought fit to accompany them : he landed them in safety, and conducted them to their companions, among whom he remarked the same vacant indifference, as in those who had been on board ; for as on one side there appeared no eagerness to relate, so on the other there seemed to be no curiosity to hear, how they had

been received, or what they had seen. In about half an hour, Mr. Banks returned to the ship, and the Indians retired from the shore.

On the 16th, early in the morning, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with their attendants and servants, and two seamen to assist in carrying the baggage, accompanied by Mr. Monkhouse the surgeon, and Mr. Green the astronomer, set out from the ship, with a view to penetrate as far as they could into the country, and return at night. The hills, when viewed at a distance, seemed to be partly a wood, partly a plain, and above them a bare rock. Mr. Banks hoped to get through the wood, and made no doubt but that, beyond it, he should, in a country which no botanist had ever yet visited, find alpine plants which would abundantly compensate his labour. They entered the wood at a small sandy beach, a little to the westward of the watering-place, and continued to ascend the hill, through the pathless wilderness, till three o'clock, before they got a near view of the places which they intended to visit. Soon after they reached what they had taken for a plain; but, to their great disappointment, found it a swamp, covered with low bushes of birch, about three feet high, interwoven with each other, and so stubborn that they could not be bent out of the way; it was therefore necessary to lift the leg over them, which at every step was buried, ankle deep, in the soil. To aggravate the pain and difficulty of such travelling, the weather, which had hitherto been very fine, much like one of our bright days in May, became gloomy and cold, with sudden blasts of a most piercing wind, accompanied with snow. They pushed forward, however, in good spirits, notwithstanding their fatigue, hoping the worst of the way was past, and that the bare rock which they had seen from the tops of the lower hills was not more than a mile before them;

but when they had got about two-thirds over this woody swamp, Mr. Buchan, one of Mr. Banks's draughtsmen, was unhappily seized with a fit. This made it necessary for the whole company to halt, and as it was impossible that he should go any farther, a fire was kindled, and those who were most fatigued were left behind to take care of him. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander Mr. Green, and Mr. Monkhouse went on, and in a short time reached the summit. As botanists, their expectations were here abundantly gratified; for they found a great variety of plants, which, with respect to the alpine plants in Europe, are exactly what those plants are with respect to such as grow in the plain.

The cold was now become more severe, and the snow-blasts more frequent; the day also was so far spent, that it was found impossible to get back to the ship before the next morning: to pass the night upon such a mountain, in such a climate, was not only comfortless, but dreadful; it was impossible, however, to be avoided, and they were to provide for it as well as they could.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, while they were improving an opportunity which they had with so much danger and difficulty procured, by gathering the plants which they found upon the mountain, sent Mr. Green and Mr. Monkhouse back to Mr. Buchan and the people that were with him, with directions to bring them to a hill, which they thought lay in a better route for returning to the wood, and which was therefore appointed as a general rendezvous. It was proposed, that from this hill they should push through the swamp, which seemed by the new route not to be more than half-a-mile over, into the shelter of the wood, and there build their wigwam, and make a fire: this, as their way was all down hill, it seemed easy to accomplish. Their whole company assembled at the rendezvous, and,



though pinched with cold, were in health and spirits, Mr. Buchan himself having recovered his strength in a much greater degree than could have been expected. It was now near eight o'clock in the evening, but still good daylight, and they set forward for the nearest valley, Mr. Banks himself undertaking to bring up the rear, and see that no straggler was left behind: this may, perhaps, be thought a superfluous caution, but it will soon appear to be otherwise. Dr. Solander, who had more than once crossed the mountains which divide Sweden from Norway, well knew that extreme cold, especially when joined with fatigue, produces a torpor and sleepiness that are almost irresistible: he therefore conjured the company to keep moving, whatever pain it might cost them, and whatever relief they might be promised by an inclination to rest. Whoever sits down, says he, will sleep; and whoever sleeps, will wake no more. Thus, at once admonished and alarmed, they set forward; but while they were still upon the naked rock, and before they had got among the bushes, the cold became so intense, as to produce the effects that had been most dreaded. Dr. Solander himself was the first who found the inclination, against which he had warned others, irresistible; and insisted upon being suffered to lie down. Mr. Banks entreated and remonstrated in vain: down he lay upon the ground, though it was covered with snow; and it was with great difficulty that his friend kept him from sleeping. Richmond, also, one of the black servants, began to linger, having suffered from the cold in the same manner as the doctor. Mr. Banks, therefore, sent five of the company, among whom was Mr. Buchan, forward to get a fire ready at the first convenient place they could find; and himself with four others, remained with the doctor and Richmond, whom, partly by persuasion and entreaty, and partly by force, they

brought on ; but when they had got through the greatest part of the birch and swamp, they both declared they could go no farther. Mr. Banks had recourse again to entreaty and expostulation, but they produced no effect : when Richmond was told, that if he did not go on he would in a short time be frozen to death, he answered, that he desired nothing but to lie down and die : the doctor did not so explicitly renounce his life : he said he was willing to go on, but that he must first take some sleep, though he had before told the company that to sleep was to perish. Mr. Banks and the rest found it impossible to carry them, and there being no remedy, they were both suffered to sit down, being partly supported by the bushes, and in a few minutes they fell into a profound sleep : soon after, some of the people who had been sent forward, returned, with the welcome news that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile farther on the way. Mr. Banks then endeavoured to wake Dr. Solander, and happily succeeded : but, though he had not slept five minutes, he had almost lost the use of his limbs, and the muscles were so shrunk that his shoes fell from his feet. He consented to go forward with such assistance as could be given him, but no attempts to relieve poor Richmond were successful. It being found impossible to make him stir, after some time had been lost in the attempt, Mr. Banks left his other black servant and a seaman, who seemed to have suffered least from the cold, to look after him ; promising, that as soon as two others should be sufficiently warmed, they should be relieved. Mr. Banks, with much difficulty, at length got the doctor to the fire ; and soon after sent two of the people who had been refreshed, in hopes that, with the assistance of those who had been left behind, they would be able to bring Richmond, even though it should still be found impossible to wake him. In about half an

hour, however, they had the mortification to see these two men return alone: they said, that they had been all round the place to which they had been directed, but could neither find Richmond nor those who had been left with him; and that though they had shouted many times, no voice had replied. This was matter of equal surprise and concern, particularly to Mr. Banks, who, while he was wondering how it could happen, missed a bottle of rum, the company's whole stock, which they now concluded to be in the knapsack of one of the absentees. It was conjectured, that with this Richmond had been roused by the two persons who had been left with him, and that, having perhaps drank too freely of it themselves, they had all rambled from the place where they had been left, in search of the fire, instead of waiting for those who should have been their assistants and guides. Another fall of snow now came on, and continued incessantly for two hours, so that all hope of seeing them again, at least alive, were given up; but about twelve o'clock, to the great joy of those at the fire, a shouting was heard at some distance. Mr. Banks, with four more, immediately went out, and found the seaman with just strength enough left to stagger along, and call out for assistance: Mr. Banks sent him immediately to the fire, and, by his direction, proceeded in search of the other two, whom he soon after found. Richmond was upon his legs, but not able to put one before the other: his companion was lying upon the ground, as insensible as a stone. All hands were now called from the fire, and an attempt was made to carry them to it; but this, notwithstanding the united efforts of the whole company, was found to be impossible. The night was extremely dark, the snow was now very deep, and, under these additional disadvantages, they found it very difficult to make way through the bushes and



the bog for themselves, all of them getting many falls in the attempt. The only alternative was to make a fire upon the spot.

When the morning dawned, they saw nothing round them, as far as the eye could reach, but snow, which seemed to lie as thick upon the trees as upon the ground; and the blasts returned so frequently, and with such violence, that they found it impossible for them to set out: how long this might last they knew not, and they had but too much reason to apprehend that it would confine them in that desolate forest till they perished with hunger and cold. After having suffered the misery and terror of this situation till six o'clock in the morning, they conceived some hope of deliverance by discovering the place of the sun through the clouds, which were become thinner, and began to break way.

After this repast, which furnished each of them with about three mouthfuls, they prepared to set out; but it was ten o'clock before the snow was sufficiently gone off to render a march practicable. After a walk of about three hours, they were very agreeably surprised to find themselves upon the beach, and much nearer to the ship than they had any reason to expect. Upon reviewing their track from the vessel, they perceived that, instead of ascending the hill in a line, so as to penetrate into the country, they had made almost a circle round it. When they came on board, they congratulated each other upon their safety with a joy that no man can feel who has not been exposed to equal danger; and as I had suffered great anxiety at their not returning in the evening of the day on which they set out, I was not wholly without my share.

## CHAPTER II

APRIL AND MAY 1760

ARRIVAL OF THE *ENDEAVOUR* AT OTAHEITE—RULES FOR DEALING WITH THE NATIVES—FIRST MEETING WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND—AN EXCURSION INLAND—FRIENDLINESS OF THE NATIVES—WRESTLING—SURF-RIDING.

ABOUT one o'clock, on Monday the 10th of April, some of the people who were looking out for the island to which we were bound, said they saw land a-head, in that part of the horizon where it was expected to appear; but it was so faint that whether there was land in sight or not remained a matter of dispute till sunset. The next morning, however, at six o'clock, we were convinced that those who said they had discovered land were not mistaken; it appeared to be very high and mountainous, extending from W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. to W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., and we knew it to be the same that Captain Wallis had called King George the Third's Island. We were delayed in our approach to it by light airs and calms, so that in the morning of the 12th we were but little nearer than we had been the night before; but about seven a breeze sprang up, and before eleven several canoes were seen making towards the ship: but there were but few of them, however, that would come near; and the people in those that did could not be persuaded to come on board. In every canoe there were young plantains, and branches of a tree which the Indians call *E' Midho*: these, as we afterwards learnt, were brought as tokens of peace and amity; and the people in one of the canoes handed them up the ship's side, making signals at the same time with great earnestness, which we did not immediately understand; at length we guessed that they wished these symbols should be placed in some conspicuous part of the ship; we, therefore,



immediately stuck them among the rigging, at which they expressed the greatest satisfaction. We then purchased their cargoes, consisting of cocoa-nuts and various kinds of fruit, which, after our long voyage, were very acceptable.

We stood on with an easy sail all night, with soundings from twenty-two fathom to twelve, and about seven o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in thirteen fathom, in Portroyal Bay, called by the natives *Matavai*. We were immediately surrounded by the natives in their canoes, who gave us cocoa-nuts, fruit resembling apples, bread-fruit, and some small fishes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. They had with them a pig, which they would not part with for anything but a hatchet, and therefore we refused to purchase it; because if we gave them a hatchet for a pig now, we knew they would never afterwards sell one for less, and we could not afford to buy as many as it was probable we should want at that price. The bread-fruit grows on a tree that is about the size of a middling oak: its leaves are frequently a foot and a half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig-tree, which they resemble in consistence and colour, and in the exuding of a white milky juice upon being broken. The fruit is about the size and shape of a child's head, and the surface is reticulated, not much unlike a truffle: it is covered with a thin skin, and has a core about as big as the handle of a small knife: the eatable part lies between the skin and the core: it is as white as snow, and somewhat of the consistence of new bread: it must be roasted before it is eaten, being first divided into three or four parts: its taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness, somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten bread mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke.

As our stay here was not likely to be very short, and as it was necessary that the merchandise which we had

brought for traffic with the natives should not diminish in its value, which it would certainly have done if every person had been left at liberty to give what he pleased for such things as he should purchase ; at the same time, that confusion and quarrels must necessarily have arisen from there being no standard at market, I drew up the following rules, and ordered that they should be punctually observed :—

*Rules to be observed by every Person in or belonging to his Majesty's Bark the Endeavour, for the better establishing a regular and uniform Trade for Provision, &c. with the Inhabitants of George's Island.*

“ I. To endeavour, by every fair means, to cultivate a friendship with the natives ; and to treat them with all imaginable humanity.

“ II. A proper person or persons will be appointed to trade with the natives for all manner of provisions, fruit, and other productions of the earth ; and no officer or seaman, or other person belonging to the ship, excepting such as are so appointed, shall trade or offer to trade for any sort of provision, fruit, or other productions of the earth, unless they have leave so to do.

“ III. Every person employed on shore, on any duty whatsoever, is strictly to attend to the same ; and if by any neglect he loseth any of his arms, or working tools, or suffers them to be stolen, the full value thereof will be charged against his pay, according to the custom of the navy in such cases ; and he shall receive such farther punishment as the nature of the offence may deserve.

“ IV. The same penalty will be inflicted on every person who is found to embezzle, trade, or offer to trade, with any part of the ship's stores, of what nature soever.

" V. No sort of iron, or anything that is made of iron, or any sort of cloth, or other useful or necessary articles, are to be given in exchange for anything but provision.

" J. Cook."

As soon as the ship was properly secured, I went on shore with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, a party of men under arms, and our friend Owhaw. We were received from the boat by some hundreds of the inhabitants, whose looks at least gave us welcome, though they were struck with such awe, that the first who approached us crouched so low that he almost crept upon his hands and knees. It is remarkable that he, like the people in the canoes, presented to us the same symbol of peace that is known to have been in use among the ancient and mighty nations of the northern hemisphere, the green branch of a tree. We received it with looks and gestures of kindness and satisfaction; and observing that each of them held one in his hand, we immediately gathered every one a bough, and carried it in our hands in the same manner.

They marched with us about half-a-mile towards the place where the *Dolphin* had watered, conducted by Owhaw; they then made a full stop, and having laid the ground bare, by clearing away all the plants that grew upon it, the principal persons among them threw their green branches upon the naked spot, and made signs that we should do the same; we immediately showed our readiness to comply, and to give a greater solemnity to the rite, the marines were drawn up, and marching in order, each dropped his bough upon those of the Indians, and we followed their example. We then proceeded, and when we came to the watering-place it was intimated to us by signs, that we might occupy that ground, but it happened not to be fit for our purpose. During our walk, they had



shaken off their first timid sense of our superiority, and were become familiar : they went with us from the watering-place and took a circuit through the woods ; as we went along, we distributed beads and other small presents among them, and had the satisfaction to see that they were much gratified. Our circuit was not less than four or five miles, through groves of trees, which were loaded with cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, and afforded the most grateful shade. Under these trees were the habitations of the people, most of them being only a roof without walls, and the whole scene realized the poetical fables of Arcadia. We remarked, however, not without some regret, that in all our walk we had seen only two hogs, and not a single fowl. Those of our company who had been here with the *Dolphin* told us, that none of the people whom we had yet seen were of the first class : they suspected that the chiefs had removed ; and upon carrying us to the place where what they called the queen's palace had stood, we found that no traces of it were left. We determined therefore to return in the morning, and endeavour to find out the *noblesse* in their retreats.

In the morning, however, before we could leave the ship, several canoes came about us, most of them from the westward, and two of them filled with people, who, by their dress and deportment, appeared to be of a superior rank : two of these came on board, and each singled out his friend ; one of them, whose name we found to be Matahah, fixed upon Mr. Banks, and the other upon me : this ceremony consisted in taking off great part of their clothes and putting them upon us. In return for this, we presented each of them with a hatchet and some beads. Soon after they made signs for us to go with them to the places where they lived, pointing to the S.W. ; and as I was desirous of finding a more commodious harbour,

and making farther trial of the disposition of the people, I consented.

I ordered out two boats, and with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen, and our two Indian friends, we embarked for our expedition. After rowing about a league, they made signs that we should go on shore, and gave us to understand that this was the place of their residence. We accordingly landed, among several hundreds of the natives, who conducted us into a house of much greater length than any we had seen. When we entered, we saw a middle-aged man, whose name was afterwards discovered to be Tootahah: mats were immediately spread, and we were desired to sit down over-against him. Soon after we were seated, he ordered a cock and hen to be brought out, which he presented to Mr. Banks and me; we accepted the present; and in a short time each of us received a piece of cloth, perfumed after their manner, by no means disagreeably, which they took great pains to make us remark. The piece presented to Mr. Banks was eleven yards long and two wide; in return for which, he gave a laced silk neckcloth, which he happened to have on, and a linen pocket-handkerchief: Tootahah immediately dressed himself in this new finery, with an air of perfect complacency and satisfaction.

On the next morning, Saturday the 15th, several of the chiefs, whom we had seen the day before, came on board, and brought with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreshments, for which we gave them hatchets and linen, and such things as seemed to be most acceptable.

As in my excursion to the westward, I had not found any more convenient harbour than that in which we lay, I determined to go on shore, and fix upon some spot, commanded by the ship's guns, where I might throw up a small fort for our defence, and prepare for making our

astronomical observation. I therefore took a party of men, and landed without delay, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the astronomer, Mr. Green. We soon fixed upon a part of the sandy beach, on the N.E. point of the bay, which was in every respect convenient for our purpose, and not near any habitation of the natives. Having marked out the ground that we intended to occupy, a small tent belonging to Mr. Banks was set up, which had been brought on shore for that purpose. By this time a great number of the people had gathered about us; but, as it appeared, only to look on, there not being a single weapon of any kind among them. I intimated, however, that none of them were to come within the line I had drawn, except one who appeared to be a chief, and Owhaw. To these two persons I addressed myself by signs, and endeavoured to make them understand that we wanted the ground which we had marked out to sleep upon for a certain number of nights, and that then we should go away. Whether I was understood I cannot certainly determine; but the people behaved with a deference and respect that at once pleased and surprised us. They sat down peaceably without the circle, and looked on without giving us any interruption till we had done, which was upwards of two hours. As we had seen no poultry, and but two hogs, in our walk when we were last on shore at this place, we suspected that, upon our arrival, they had been driven farther up the country; and the rather, as Owhaw was very importunate with us, by signs, not to go into the woods, which, however, and partly for these reasons, we were determined to do. Having, therefore, appointed the thirteen marines and a petty officer to guard the tent, we set out, and a great number of the natives joined our party. As we were crossing a little river that lay in our way, we saw some ducks, and Mr. Banks, as



soon as he had got over, fired at them, and happened to kill three at one shot: this struck them with the utmost terror, so that most of them fell suddenly to the ground, as if they also had been shot at the same discharge. It was not long, however, before they recovered from their fright, and we continued our route.

The next morning, our friend Tubourai Tamaide made Mr. Banks a visit at the tent, and brought with him not only his wife and family, but the roof of a house, and several materials for setting it up, with furniture and implements of various kinds, intending, as we understood him, to take up his residence in our neighbourhood. This instance of his confidence and good-will gave us great pleasure, and we determined to strengthen his attachment to us by every means in our power. Soon after his arrival, he took Mr. Banks by the hand, and leading him out of the line, signified that he should accompany him into the woods. Mr. Banks readily consented; and having walked with him about a quarter of a mile, they arrived at a kind of awning which he had already set up, and which seemed to be his occasional habitation. Here he unfolded a bundle of his country cloth, and taking out two garments, one of red cloth, and the other of very neat matting, he clothed Mr. Banks in them, and, without any other ceremony, immediately conducted him back to the tent. His attendants soon after brought him some pork and bread-fruit, which he ate, dipping his meat into salt-water instead of sauce: after his meal, he retired to Mr. Banks's bed, and slept about an hour.

We found the people waiting for us in great numbers upon the shore, so that it would have been impossible for us to have proceeded, if way had not been made for us by a tall well-looking man, who had something like a turban about his head, and a long white stick in his hand,

with which he laid about him at an unmerciful rate. This man conducted us to the chief, while the people shouted round us, *Taio Tootahah*, "Tootahah is your friend."

When all was ready, ten or twelve persons, whom we understood to be the combatants, and who were naked, except a cloth that was fastened about the waist, entered the area, and walked slowly round it, in a stooping posture, with their left hands on their right breasts, and their right hands open, with which they frequently struck the left fore-arm so as to produce a quick smart sound. This was a general challenge to the combatants whom they were to engage, or any other person present. After these followed others in the same manner; and then a particular challenge was given, by which each man singled out his antagonist: this was done by joining the finger-ends of both hands, and bringing them to the breast, at the same time moving the elbows up and down with a quick motion. If the person to whom this was addressed accepted the challenge, he repeated the signs, and immediately each put himself into an attitude to engage; the next minute they closed; but, except in first seizing each other, it was a mere contest of strength. Each endeavoured to lay hold of the other, first by the thigh, and, if that failed, by the hand, the hair, the cloth, or elsewhere as he could. When this was done, they grappled, without the least dexterity or skill, till one of them, by having a more advantageous hold, or greater muscular force, threw the other on his back. When the contest was over, the old men gave their plaudits to the victor in a few words, which they repeated together in a kind of tune: his conquest was also generally celebrated by three huzzas. The entertainment was then suspended for a few minutes; after which another couple of wrestlers came forward and engaged in the same manner. If it happened that neither was thrown, after the contest had



continued about a minute, they parted, either by consent or the intervention of their friends ; and in this case each slapped his arm, as a challenge to a new engagement either with the same antagonist or some other. While the wrestlers were engaged, another party of men performed a dance, which lasted also about a minute ; but neither of these parties took the least notice of each other, their attention being wholly fixed on what they were doing. We observed with pleasure that the conqueror never exulted over the vanquished, and that the vanquished never repined at the success of the conqueror : the whole contest was carried on with perfect good-will and good-humour, though in the presence of at least five hundred spectators.

As we were returning to the boat we were entertained with a sight that in some measure compensated for our fatigue and disappointment. In our way we came to one of the few places where access to the island is not guarded by a reef, and, consequently, a high surf breaks upon the shore ; a more dreadful one, indeed, I had seldom seen ; it was impossible for any European boat to have lived in it ; and if the best swimmer in Europe had, by any accident, been exposed to its fury, I am confident that he would not have been able to preserve himself from drowning, especially as the shore was covered with pebbles and large stones ; yet, in the midst of these breakers, were ten or twelve Indians swimming for their amusement : whenever a surf broke near them, they dived under it, and, to all appearance with infinite facility, rose again on the other side. This diversion was greatly improved by the stern of an old canoe, which they happened to find upon the spot : they took this before them, and swam out with it as far as the outermost breach, then two or three of them getting into it, and turning the square end to the breaking wave, were driven in towards the shore with incredible rapidity,

sometimes almost to the beach ; but generally the wave broke over them before they got half way, in which case they dived, and rose on the other side with the canoe in their hands : they then swam out with it again, and were again driven back, just as our holiday youth climb the hill in Greenwich-park for the pleasure of rolling down it. At this wonderful scene we stood gazing for more than half an hour, during which time none of the swimmers attempt to come on shore, but seemed to enjoy their sport in the highest degree ; we then proceeded in our journey, and late in the evening got back to the fort.

The Transit of Venus was successfully observed on Thursday, 1st of June, there not being a cloud in the sky from the rising to the setting of the sun, so that the whole passage of the planet Venus over the sun's disc was observed with great advantage.

Having remained three months at Otaheite we parted with our friends, and sailed for the neighbouring island of Huaheine.

On the 16th, we had a gentle breeze ; and in the morning about eight o'clock, being close in with the north-west part of the island Huaheine, we sounded, but had no bottom with 80 fathom. Some canoes very soon came off, but the people seemed afraid, and kept at a distance till they discovered Tupia and then they ventured nearer. In one of the canoes that came up to the ship's side, was the king of the island and his wife. Upon assurances of friendship, frequently and earnestly repeated, their majesties and some others came on board. At first they were struck with astonishment, and wondered at every thing that was shown them ; yet they made no inquiries, and seeming to be

satisfied with what was offered to their notice, they made no search after other objects of curiosity, with which it was natural to suppose a building of such novelty and magnitude as the ship must abound. After some time, they became more familiar. I was given to understand, that the name of the king was Oree, and he proposed, as a mark of amity, that we should exchange names. To this I readily consented; and he was Cookee, for so he pronounced my name, and I was Oree, for the rest of the time we were together.



## CHAPTER III

AUGUST TO OCTOBER 1769

THE PASSAGE TO NEW ZEALAND—WHAT HAPPENED ON GOING ASHORE THERE—POVERTY BAY—THE ADJACENT COUNTRY—AN ATTEMPT AT KIDNAPPING.

WE sailed from Oteroah on the 15th of August, and on Friday the 25th we celebrated the anniversary of our leaving England, by taking a Cheshire cheese from a locker, where it had been carefully treasured up for this occasion, and tapping a cask of porter, which proved to be very good, and in excellent order. On the 29th, one of the sailors got so drunk, that the next morning he died: we thought at first that he could not have come honestly by the liquor, but we afterwards learned that the boatswain, whose mate he was, had, in mere good-nature, given him part of a bottle of rum. On the 30th, we saw the comet; at one o'clock in the morning, it was a little above the horizon in the eastern part of the heavens; at about half an hour after four it passed the meridian, and its tail subtended an angle of forty-two degrees.

On the 7th, it fell calm, we therefore approached the land slowly, and in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up, we were still distant seven or eight leagues. It appeared still larger as it was more distinctly seen, with four or five ranges of hills, rising one over the other, and a chain of mountains above all, which appeared to be of an enormous height. This land became the subject of much eager conversation; but the general opinion seemed to be that we had found the *Terra australis incognita*. About five o'clock, we saw the opening of a bay, which seemed to run pretty far inland, upon which we hauled our wind and stood in for it; we also saw smoke ascending from different places on shores. When night came on, however,

we kept plying off and on till day-light, when we found ourselves to the leeward of the bay, the wind being at north : we could now perceive that the hills were clothed with wood, and that some of the trees in the valleys were very large. By noon we fetched in with the south-west point ; but not being able to weather it, tacked and stood off : at this time we saw several canoes standing across the bay, which, in a little time, made to shore, without seeming to take the least notice of the ship ; we also saw some houses, which appeared to be small, but neat ; and near one of them a considerable number of the people collected together, who were sitting upon the beach, and who, we thought, were the same that we had seen in the canoes. Upon a small peninsula, at the north-east head, we could plainly perceive a pretty high and regular paling, which inclosed the whole top of a hill ; this was also the subject of much speculation, some supposing it to be a park of deer, others an inclosure for oxen and sheep. About four o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored on the north-west side of the bay, before the entrance of a small river, in ten fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, and at about half a league from the shore. The sides of the bay are white cliffs of a great height ; the middle is low land, with hills gradually rising behind, one towering above another, and terminating in the chain of mountains, which appeared to be far inland.

In the evening I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with the pinnace and yawl, and a party of men. We landed abreast of the ship, on the east side of the river, which was here about forty yards broad ; but seeing some natives on the west side whom I wished to speak with, and finding the river not fordable, I ordered the yawl in to carry us over, and left the pinnace at the entrance. When we came near the place where the

people were assembled, they all ran away ; however, we landed, and leaving four boys to take care of the yawl, we walked up to some huts which were about two or three hundred yards from the water-side. When we had got some distance from the boat, four men, armed with long lances, rushed out of the woods, and running up to attack the boat, would certainly have cut her off, if the people in the pinnace had not discovered them, and called to the boys to drop down the stream : the boys instantly obeyed ; but being closely pursued by the Indians, the cockswain of the pinnace, who had the charge of the boats, fired a musket over their heads ; at this they stopped and looked round them, but in a few minutes renewed the pursuit, brandishing their lances in a threatening manner : the cockswain then fired a second musket over their heads, but of this they took no notice ; and one of them lifting up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired, which shot him dead. When he fell, the other three stood motionless for some minutes, as if petrified with astonishment ; as soon as they recovered, they went back, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they soon left, that it might not encumber their flight. At the report of the first musket, we drew together, having straggled to a little distance from each other, and made the best of our way back to the boat ; and crossing the river, we soon saw the Indian lying dead upon the ground. Upon examining the body, we found that he had been shot through the heart : he was a man of the middle size and stature ; his complexion was brown, but not very dark ; and one side of his face was tattooed in spiral lines of a very regular figure : he was covered with a fine cloth, of a manufacture altogether new to us, and it was tied on exactly according to the representation in Valentyn's *Account of Abel Tasman's Voyage*, vol. iii, part 2, p. 50 :



his hair also was tied in a knot on the top of his head, but had no feather in it. We returned immediately to the ship, where we could hear the people on shore talking with great earnestness, and in a very loud tone, probably about what had happened, and what should be done.

As we had unhappily experienced, that nothing was to be done with these people at this place; and finding the water in the river to be salt, I proceeded in the boats round the head of the bay in search of fresh water, and with a design, if possible, to surprise some of the natives, and take them on board, where, by kind treatment and presents, I might obtain their friendship, and by their means establish an amicable correspondence with their countrymen.

To my great regret, I found no place where I could land, a dangerous surf every where beating upon the shore; but I saw two canoes coming in from the sea, one under sail, and the other worked with paddles. I thought this a favourable opportunity to get some of the people into my possession without mischief, as those in the canoe were probably fishermen, and without arms, and I had three boats full of men. I therefore disposed the boats so as most effectually to intercept them in their way to the shore; the people in the canoe that was paddled perceived us so soon, that, by making to the nearest land with their utmost strength, they escaped us; the other sailed on till she was in the midst of us without discerning what we were; but the moment she discovered us, the people on board struck their sail, and took to their paddles, which they plied so briskly that she out-ran the boat. They were, however, within hearing, and Tupia called out to them to come along-side, and promised for us that they should come to no hurt: they chose, however, rather to trust to their paddles than our promises, and continued

to make from us with all their power. I then ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, as the least exceptionable expedient to accomplish my design, hoping it would either make them surrender, or leap into the water. Upon the discharge of the piece, they ceased paddling; and all of them, being seven in number, began to strip, as we imagined, to jump overboard: but it happened otherwise. They immediately formed a resolution not to fly, but to fight; and when the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons that were in the boat, so vigorously, that we were obliged to fire upon them in our own defence; four were unhappily killed; and the other three, who were boys, the eldest about nineteen, and the youngest about eleven, instantly leaped into the water; the eldest swam with great vigour, and resisted the attempts of our people to take him into the boat by every effort that he could make: he was, however, at last overpowered, and the other two were taken up with less difficulty. I am conscious that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people, and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself.

The next morning, at six o'clock, we weighed, and stood away from this unfortunate and inhospitable place, to which I gave the name of Poverty Bay, and which by the natives is called Ta-one-roa, or the Long Sand, as it did not afford us a single article that we wanted, except a little wood.

In the afternoon we lay becalmed, which the people on shore perceiving, several canoes put off, and came within less than a quarter of a mile of the vessel, but could not be persuaded to come nearer, though Tupia exerted all the powers of his lungs and his eloquence upon the occasion,

shouting and promising that they should not be hurt. Another canoe was now seen coming from Poverty Bay, with only four people on board, one of whom we well remembered to have seen in our first interview upon the rock. This canoe, without stopping, or taking the least notice of the others, came directly alongside of the ship, and with very little persuasion we got the Indians on board. Their example was soon followed by the rest, and we had about us seven canoes, and about fifty men. We made them all presents with a liberal hand; notwithstanding which, they were so desirous to have more of our commodities, that they sold us everything they had, even the clothes from their backs and the paddles from their boats. There were but two weapons among them; these were the instruments of green talc, which were shaped somewhat like a pointed battledore, with a short handle and sharp edges; they were called *Patoo-patoo*, and were well contrived for close fighting, as they would certainly split the thickest skull at a single blow.

When these people had recovered from the first impressions of fear, which, notwithstanding their resolution in coming on board, had manifestly thrown them into some confusion, we inquired after our poor boys. The man who first came on board immediately answered, that they were unhurt, and at home; adding, that he had been induced to venture on board by the account which they had given him of the kindness with which they had been treated, and the wonders which were contained in the ship. While they were on board they showed every sign of friendship, and invited us very cordially to go back to our old bay, or to a small cove which they pointed out, that was not quite so far off; but I chose rather to prosecute my discoveries than go back, having reason to hope that I should find a better harbour than any I had yet seen.



About an hour before sun-set, the canoes put off from the ship with the few paddles they had reserved, which were scarcely sufficient to set them on shore ; but, by some means or other, three of their people were left behind. As soon as we discovered it, we hailed them, but not one of them would return to take them on board. This greatly surprised us ; but we were surprised still more to observe that the deserted Indians did not seem at all uneasy at their situation, but entertained us with dancing and singing after their manner, ate their suppers, and went quietly to bed.

A light breeze springing up soon after it was dark, we steered along the shore under an easy sail till midnight, and then brought to ; soon after which it fell calm. We were now some leagues distant from the place where the canoes had left us ; and at day-break, when the Indians perceived it, they were seized with consternation and terror, and lamented their situation in loud complaints, with gestures of despair, and many tears. Tupia, with great difficulty, pacified them ; and about seven o'clock in the morning, a light breeze springing up, we continued to stand south-west along the shore. Fortunately for our poor Indians, two canoes came off about this time, and made towards the ship ; they stopped, however, at a little distance, and seemed unwilling to trust themselves nearer. Our Indians were greatly agitated in this state of uncertainty, and urged their fellows to come alongside of the ship, both by their voice and gestures, with the utmost eagerness and impatience. Tupia interpreted what they said, and we were much surprised to find that, among other arguments, they assured the people in the canoes we did not eat men. We now began seriously to believe that this horrid custom prevailed among them ; for what the boys had said we considered as a mere hyperbolical

expression of their fear. One of the canoes, at length, ventured to come under the ship's side, and an old man came on board, who seemed to be a chief, from the finery of his garment and the superiority of his weapon, which was a Patoo-patoo made of bone that, as he said, had belonged to a whale. He staid on board but a short time ; and when he went away, he took with him our guests, very much to the satisfaction both of them and us.

In the morning we had a view of the mountains inland, upon which the snow was still lying : the country near the shore was low and unfit for culture, but in one place we perceived a patch of somewhat yellow, which had greatly the appearance of a corn-field, yet was probably nothing more than some dead flags, which are not uncommon in swampy places : at some distance we saw groves of trees, which appeared high and tapering, and being not above two leagues from the south-west cod of the great bay, in which we had been coasting for the two last days, I hoisted out the pinnace and long-boat to search for fresh water ; but just as they were about to put off, we saw several boats full of people coming from the shore, and, therefore, I did not think it safe for them to leave the ship. About ten o'clock, five of these boats having drawn together, as if to hold a consultation, made towards the ship, having on board between eighty and ninety men, and four more followed at some distance, as if to sustain the attack : when the first five came within about a hundred yards of the ship, they began to sing their war-song, and brandishing their pikes, prepared for an engagement. We had now no time to lose, for if we could not prevent the attack, we should come under the unhappy necessity of using our fire-arms against them, which we were very desirous to avoid. Tupia was, therefore, ordered to acquaint them that we had weapons which,

like thunder, would destroy them in a moment ; that we would immediately convince them of their power by directing their effect so that they should not be hurt ; but that if they persisted in any hostile attempt, we should be obliged to use them for our defence ; a four-pounder, loaded with grape-shot, was then discharged wide of them, which produced the desired effect ; the report, the flash, and above all, the shot, which spread very far in the water, so intimidated them, that they began to paddle away with all their might : Tupia, however, calling after them, and assuring them that if they would come unarmed, they should be kindly received : the people in one of the boats put their arms on board of another, and came under the ship's stern ; we made them several presents, and should certainly have prevailed upon them to come on board, if the other canoes had not come up, and again threatened us, by shouting and brandishing their weapons : at this the people who had come to the ship unarmed expressed great displeasure, and soon after they all went away.

In the afternoon we stood over to the south point of the bay, but not reaching it before it was dark, we stood off and on all night. At eight the next morning, being abreast of the point, several fishing boats came off to us, and sold us some stinking fish : it was the best they had, and we were willing to trade with them upon any terms : these people behaved very well, and we should have parted good friends if it had not been for a large canoe, with two-and-twenty armed men on board, which came boldly up along-side of the ship. We soon saw that this boat had nothing for traffic, yet we gave them two or three pieces of cloth, an article which they seemed very fond of. I observed that one man had a black skin thrown over him, somewhat resembling that of a bear, and being



desirous to know what animal was its first owner, I offered him for it a piece of red baize, and he seemed greatly pleased with the bargain, immediately pulling off the skin, and holding it up in the boat; he would not, however, part with it till he had the cloth in his possession, and as there could be no transfer of property, if with equal caution I had insisted upon the same condition, I ordered the cloth to be handed down to him, upon which, with amazing coolness, instead of sending up the skin, he began to pack up both that and the baize, which he had received as the purchase of it, in a basket, without paying the least regard to my demand or remonstrances, and soon after, with the fishing-boats, put off from the ship; when they were at some distance, they drew together, and after a short consultation returned; the fishermen offered more fish, which, though good for nothing, was purchased, and trade was again renewed. Among others who were placed over the ship's side to hand up what we bought, was little Tayeto, Tupia's boy; and one of the Indians, watching his opportunity, suddenly seized him, and dragged him down into the canoe; two of them held him down in the forepart of it, and the others, with great activity, paddled her off, the rest of the canoes following as fast as they could; upon this the marines, who were under arms upon deck, were ordered to fire. The shot was directed to that part of the canoe which was farthest from the boy, and rather wide of her, being willing rather to miss the rowers than to hurt him: it happened, however, that one man dropped, upon which the others quitted their hold of the boy, who instantly leaped into the water, and swam towards the ship; the large canoe immediately pulled round and followed him, but some muskets and a great gun being fired at her, she desisted from the pursuit. The ship being brought to,

a boat was lowered, and the poor boy taken up unhurt, though so terrified, that for a time he seemed to be deprived of his senses. Some of the gentlemen who traced the canoes to shore with their glasses, said, that they saw three men carried up the beach, who appeared to be either dead, or wholly disabled by their wounds. To the cape off which this unhappy transaction happened, I gave the name of Cape Kidnappers.

On the 28th we went ashore upon an island that lies to the left hand of the entrance of the bay, where we saw the largest canoe that we had yet met with; she was sixty-eight feet and a half long, five broad, and three feet six high; she had a sharp bottom, consisting of three trunks of trees hollowed, of which that in the middle was the longest; the side planks were sixty-two feet long, in one piece, and were not despicably carved in bas-relief; the head also was adorned with carving still more richly. Upon this island there was a larger house than any we had yet seen, but it seemed unfinished and was full of chips. The wood-work was squared so even and smooth, that we made no doubt of their having among them very sharp tools. The sides of the posts were carved in a masterly style, though after their whimsical taste, which seems to prefer spiral lines and distorted faces: as these carved posts appear to have been brought from some other place, such work is probably of great value among them. At four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, having got on board our wood and water, and a large supply of excellent celery, with which the country abounds, and which proved a powerful antiscorbutic, I unmoored and put to sea.

This bay is called by the natives Tolaga; it is moderately large, and has from seven to thirteen fathom, with a clean sandy bottom and good anchorage; and is sheltered from all winds except the north-east.

## CHAPTER IV

OCTOBER 1769 TO MARCH 1770

NORTHWARDS FROM TOLAGA BAY—TRADING INCIDENTS—THE FOUR-POUNDER—GOING ASHORE—THE EPPAH—CANNIBALS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE SOUND—BIRDS, BEASTS, FISHES, AND VEGETATION OF NEW ZEALAND—DECISION TO QUIT THE COUNTRY AND RETURN HOME.

THE land from Tolaga Bay to East Cape is of a moderate but unequal height, forming several small bays, in which are sandy beaches: of the inland country we could not see much, the weather being cloudy and hazy. The soundings were from twenty to thirty fathom, at the distance of about a league from the shore. After we had rounded the Cape, we saw in our run along the shore a great number of villages and much cultivated land; the country in general appeared more fertile than before, and was low near the sea, but hilly within. At six in the evening, being four leagues to the westward of East Cape, we passed a bay which was first discovered by Lieutenant Hicks, and which, therefore, I called Hicks's Bay.

At day-break, on the 1st of November, we counted no less than five-and-forty canoes that were coming from the shore towards the ship; seven of them came up with us, and after some conversation with Tupia, sold us some lobsters and mussels, and two conger eels. These people traded pretty fairly, but when they were gone some others came off from another place, who began also to trade fairly; but after some time they took what was handed down to them, without making any return; one of them who had done so, upon being threatened, began to laugh, and with many marks of derision set us at defiance, at the same time putting off the canoe from the ship; a musket was then fired over his head, which brought him back in



a more serious mood, and trade went on with great regularity. At length, when the cabin and gun-room had got as much as they wanted, the men were allowed to come to the gangway and trade for themselves. Unhappily the same care was not taken to prevent frauds as had been taken before, so that the Indians, finding that they could cheat with impunity, grew insolent again, and proceeded to take greater liberties. One of the canoes, having sold everything on board, pulled forward, and the people that were in her seeing some linen hang over the ship's side to dry, one of them, without any ceremony, untied it, and put it up in his bundle : he was immediately called to, and required to return it ; instead of which he let his canoe drop astern, and laughed at us ; a musket was fired over his head, which did not put a stop to his mirth, another was then fired at him with small shot, which struck him upon the back ; he shrunk a little when the shot hit him, but did not regard it more than one of our men would have done the stroke of a rattan : he continued with great composure to pack up the linen that he had stolen. All the canoes now dropped astern about a hundred yards, and all set up their song of defiance, which they continued till the ship was distant from them about four hundred yards. As they seemed to have no design to attack us, I was not willing to do them any hurt, yet I thought their going off in a bravado might have a bad effect when it should be reported ashore. To show them, therefore, that they were still in our power, though very much beyond the reach of any missile weapon with which they were acquainted, I gave the ship a yaw, and fired a four-pounder so as to pass near them. The shot happened to strike the water and rise several times at a great distance beyond the canoes ; this struck them with terror, and they paddled away without once looking behind them.

About two in the afternoon, we saw a pretty high island bearing west from us ; and at five, saw more islands and rocks to the westward of that. We hauled our wind in order to go without them, but could not weather them before it was dark. I, therefore, bore up, and ran between them and the main. At seven, I was close under the first, from which a large double canoe, or rather two canoes lashed together at the distance of about a foot, and covered with boards so as to make a deck, put off, and made sail for the ship : this was the first vessel of the kind that we had seen since we left the South Sea Islands. When she came near, the people on board entered very freely into conversation with Tupia, and we thought showed a friendly disposition ; but when it was just dark, they ran their canoe close to the ship's side, and threw in a volley of stones, after which they paddled away.

The next day, I went with two boats, accompanied by Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen, to examine a large river that empties itself into the head of the bay. We rowed about four or five miles up, and could have gone much farther if the weather had been favourable. It was here wider than at the mouth, and divided into many streams by small flat islands, which are covered with mangroves, and overflowed at high-water. From these trees exudes a viscous substance which very much resembles resin ; we found it first in small lumps upon the sea-beach, and now saw it sticking to the trees, by which we knew whence it came. We landed on the east side of the river, where we saw a tree upon which several shags had built their nests, and here, therefore, we determined to dine. Twenty of the shags were soon killed, and, being boiled upon the spot, afforded us an excellent meal. We then went upon the hills, from whence I thought I saw the head of the river. The shore on each side, as well as the islands

in the middle, were covered with mangroves; and the sand-banks abounded in cockles and clams. In many places there were rock-oysters, and everywhere plenty of wild-fowl, principally shags, ducks, curlews, and the "sea-pie". We also saw fish in the river, but of what kind we could not discover. The country on the east side of this river is, for the most part, barren and destitute of wood; but on the west it has a better aspect, and in some places is adorned with trees, but has in no part the appearance of cultivation. In the entrance of the river, and for two or three miles up, there is good anchoring in four and five fathom water, and places very convenient for laying a vessel on shore, where the tide rises and falls seven feet at the full and change of the moon. We could not determine whether any considerable stream of fresh water came into this river out of the country; but we saw a number of small rivulets issue from the adjacent hills. Near the mouth of this river, on the east side, we found a little Indian village, consisting of small temporary sheds, where we landed, and were received by the people with the utmost kindness and hospitality. They treated us with a flat shell-fish of a most delicious taste, somewhat like a cockle, which we ate hot from the coals. Near this place is a high point, or peninsula, projecting into the river, and upon it are the remains of a fort, which they call *Eppah*, or *Heppah*. The best engineer in Europe could not have chosen a situation better adapted to enable a small number to defend themselves against a greater. The steepness of the cliffs renders it wholly inaccessible from the water, which encloses it on three sides; and, to the land, it is fortified by a ditch, and a bank raised on the inside. From the top of the bank to the bottom of the ditch is two-and-twenty feet; the ditch on the outside is fourteen feet



deep, and its breadth is in proportion. The whole seemed to have been executed with great judgment; and there had been a row of pickets or palisadoes, both on the top of the bank, and along the brink of the ditch on the outside: those on the outside had been driven very deep into the ground, and were inclined towards the ditch, so as to project over it; but of these the thickest posts only were left, and upon them there were evident marks of fire, so that the place had probably been taken and destroyed by an enemy. If any occasion should make it necessary for a ship to winter here, or stay any time, tents might be built in this place, which is sufficiently spacious, with great convenience, and might easily be made impregnable to the whole country.

After dinner I went in the pinnace with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and some others, into another cove, about two miles distant from that in which the ship lay: in our way we saw something floating upon the water, which we took for a dead seal, but upon rowing up to it, found it to be the body of a woman, which, to all appearance, had been dead some days. We proceeded to our cove, where we went on shore, and found a small family of Indians, who appeared to be greatly terrified at our approach, and all ran away except one. A conversation between this person and Tupia soon brought back the rest, except an old man and a child, who still kept aloof, but stood peeping at us from the woods.

This family, when we came on shore, was employed in dressing some provisions: the body of a dog was at this time buried in their oven, and many provision-baskets stood near it. Having cast our eyes carelessly into one of

these, as we passed it, we saw two bones pretty cleanly picked, which did not seem to be the bones of a dog, and which, upon a nearer examination, we discovered to be those of a human body. At this sight we were struck with horror, though it was only a confirmation of what we had heard many times since we arrived upon this coast. As we could have no doubt but the bones were human, neither could we have any doubt but that the flesh which covered them had been eaten. They were found in a provision-basket; the flesh that remained appeared manifestly to have been dressed by fire; and in the gristles at the end were the marks of the teeth which had gnawed them: to put an end, however, to conjecture, founded upon circumstances and appearances, we directed Tupia to ask what bones they were; and the Indians, without the least hesitation, answered, the bones of a man: they were then asked what was become of the flesh, and they replied that they had eaten it. We eat only the bodies of our enemies, said they, who are killed in battle. Upon inquiry who the man was whose bones we had found, they told us, that about five days before, a boat belonging to their enemies came into the bay, with many persons on board, and that this man was of the seven whom they had killed. Though stronger evidence of this horrid practice prevailing among the inhabitants of this coast will scarcely be required, we have still stronger to give. One of us asked if they had any human bones with the flesh remaining upon them, and upon their answering us that all had been eaten, we affected to disbelieve that the bones were human, and said that they were the bones of a dog; upon which one of the Indians, with some eagerness, took hold of his own fore-arm, and thrusting it towards us, said, that the bone which Mr. Banks held in his hand had belonged to that part of the human body; at the same time, to convince

us that the flesh had been eaten, he took hold of his own arm with his teeth, and made show of eating : he also bit and gnawed the bone which Mr. Banks had taken, drawing it through his mouth, and showing, by signs, that it had afforded a delicious repast ; the bone was then returned to Mr. Banks, and he brought it away with him. Among the persons of this family, there was a woman who had her arms, legs, and thighs, frightfully cut in several places ; and we were told that she had inflicted the wounds upon herself, in token of her grief for the loss of her husband, who had been lately killed and eaten by their enemies, who had come from some place to the eastward, towards which the Indians pointed.

In this country there are no quadrupeds but dogs and rats, at least we saw no other, and the rats are so scarce that many of us never saw them. The dogs live with the people, who breed them for no other purpose than to eat : there might indeed be quadrupeds that we did not see ; but this is not probable, because the chief pride of the natives, with respect to their dress, is in the skins and hair of such animals as they have, and we never saw the skin of any animal about them but those of dogs and birds : there are indeed seals upon the coast, and we once saw a sea-lion, but we imagine they are seldom caught, for though we saw some of their teeth, which were fashioned into an ornament like a bodkin, and worn by the natives at their breast, and highly valued, we saw none of their skins : there are whales also upon this coast, and though the people did not appear to have any art or instrument by which such an animal could be taken and killed, we saw pattoo-pattoos in the possession of some of them, which were made of the bone of a whale, or of some other animal whose bone had exactly the same appearance.

Of birds the species are not many ; and of these none,



except perhaps the gannet, is the same with those of Europe: here are ducks indeed, and shags of several kinds, sufficiently resembling those of Europe to be called the same, by those who have not examined them very nicely. Here are also hawks, owls, and quails, which differ but little from those of Europe at first sight; and several small birds, whose song, as has been remarked in the course of the narrative, is much more melodious than any that we had ever heard. The sea-coast is also visited by many oceanic birds, particularly albatrosses, sheerwaters, pintados, and a few of the birds which Sir John Narborough has called Penguins, and which indeed are what the French call *Nuance*, and seem to be a middle species between bird and fish; for their feathers, especially those upon their wings, differ very little from scales; and their wings themselves, which they use only in diving, and not to accelerate their motion even upon the surface of the water, may, perhaps with equal propriety, be called fins. Neither are insects in greater plenty than birds: a few butterflies and beetles, flesh flies, very like those in Europe, and some musquitos and sand flies, perhaps exactly the same with those of North America, make up the whole catalogue. Of musquitos and sand flies, however, which are justly accounted the curse of every country where they abound, we did not see many: there were indeed a few in almost every place where we went on shore, but they gave us so little trouble, that we did not make use of the shades which we had provided for the security of our faces.

For this scarcity of animals upon the land, the sea, however, makes an abundant recompense; every creek swarming with fish, which are not only wholesome, but equally delicious with those of Europe: the ship seldom anchored in any station, or with a light gale passed any place, that did not afford us enough with hook and line

to serve the whole ship's company, especially to the southward: when we lay at anchor, the boats, with hook and line, near the rocks, could take fish in any quantity; and the seine seldom failed of producing a still more ample supply; so that both times when we anchored in Cook's Straight, every mess in the ship, that was not careless and improvident, salted as much as lasted many weeks after they went to sea. Of this article, the variety was equal to the plenty; we had mackerel of many kinds, among which, one was exactly the same as we have in England: these came in immense shoals, and were taken by the natives in their seines, who sold them to us at a very easy rate. Besides these, there were fish of many species which we had never seen before, but to all which the seamen very readily gave names: so that we talked here as familiarly of hakes, bream, cole-fish, and many others, as we do in England; and though they are by no means of the same family, it must be confessed that they do honour to the name. But the highest luxury which the sea afforded us, even in this place, was the lobster or sea cray-fish, which are probably the same that in the account of Lord Anson's Voyage are said to have been found at the island of Juan Fernandez, except that, although large, they are not quite equal in size: they differ from ours in England in several particulars; they have a greater number of prickles on their backs, and they are red when first taken out of the water. These we also bought everywhere to the northward in great quantities of the natives, who catch them by diving near the shore, and finding out where they lie with their feet. We had also a fish that Frezier, in his *Voyage to the Spanish Main in South America*, has described by the names of *Elefant*, *Pejegallos*, or *Poison coq*, which, though coarse, we eat very heartily. Several species of the skate, or sting-ray, are also found

here, which were still coarser than the *Elefant*; but as an atonement, we had among many kinds of dog-fish one spotted with white, which was in flavour exactly similar to our best skate, but much more delicious. We had also flat fish resembling both soles and flounders, besides eels and congers of various kinds, with many others of which those who shall hereafter visit this coast will not fail to find the advantage; and shell-fish in great variety, particularly clams, cockles, and oysters.

Among the vegetable productions of this country, the trees claim a principal place; for here are forests of vast extent, full of the straightest, the cleanest, and the largest timber trees that we had ever seen: their size, their grain, and apparent durability, render them fit for any kind of building, and indeed for every other purpose except masts; for which, as I have already observed, they are too hard, and too heavy: there is one in particular which, when we were upon the coast, was rendered conspicuous by a scarlet flower, that seemed to be a compendage of many fibres; it is about as large as an oak, and the wood is exceedingly hard and heavy, and excellently adapted to the use of the millwright. There is another which grows in the swamps, remarkably tall and straight, thick enough to make masts for vessels of any size, and, if a judgment may be formed by the direction of its grain, very tough: this, which, as has been before remarked, our carpenter thought to resemble the pitch-pine, may probably be lightened by tapping, and it will then make the finest masts in the world: it has a leaf not unlike a yew, and bears berries in small bunches.

Great part of the country is covered with a luxuriant verdure, and our natural historians were gratified by the novelty, if not the variety of the plants. Sow-thistle, garden nightshade, one or two kinds of grass, the same



as in England, and two or three kinds of fern, like those of the West Indies, with a few of the plants that are to be found in almost every part of the world, were all, out of about four hundred species, that have hitherto been described by any botanists, or had been seen elsewhere during the course of this voyage, except about five or six which had been gathered at Terra del Fuego.

Of eatable vegetables there are but few; our people, indeed, who had been long at sea, eat, with equal pleasure and advantage, of wild celery, and a kind of cresses, which grew in great abundance upon all parts of the sea-shore. We also, once or twice, met with a plant like what the country people in England call *Lamb's quarters*, or Fat-hen, which we boiled instead of greens; and once we had the good fortune to find a cabbage-tree, which afforded us a delicious meal; and, except the fern-root, and one other vegetable, totally unknown in Europe, and which, though eaten by the natives, was extremely disagreeable to us, we found no other vegetable production that was fit for food, among those that appeared to be the wild produce of the country; and we could find but three esculent plants among those which are raised by cultivation—yams, sweet potatoes, and cocos. Of the yams and potatoes there are plantations consisting of many acres; and I believe that any ship which should happen to be here in the autumn, when they are dug up, might purchase them in any quantity. Gourds are also cultivated by the natives of this place, the fruit of which furnishes them with vessels for various uses. We also found here the Chinese paper mulberry-tree, the same as that of which the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands make their cloth; but it is so scarce, that though the New Zealanders also make cloth of it, they have not enough for any other purpose than to wear as an ornament in the holes which

they make in their ears, as I have observed before. But among all the trees, shrubs, and plants of this country, there is not one that produces fruit, except a berry, which has neither sweetness nor flavour, and which none but the boys took pains to gather.

At my return in the evening, I found all the wood and water on board, and the ship ready for the sea; I resolved therefore to quit the country, and return home by such a route as might be of most advantage to the service; and upon this subject took the opinion of my officers. I had myself a strong desire to return by Cape Horn, because that would have enabled me finally to determine, whether there is or is not a southern continent; but against this it was a sufficient objection that we must have kept in a high southern latitude in the very depth of winter, with a vessel which was not thought sufficient for the undertaking; and the same reason was urged against our proceeding directly for the Cape of Good Hope, with still more force, because no discovery of moment could be hoped for in that route; it was therefore resolved that we should return by the East Indies, and that with this view we should, upon leaving the coast, steer westward, till we should fall in with the east coast of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward, till we should arrive at its northern extremity; but if that should be found impracticable, it was further resolved that we should endeavour to fall in with the land, or islands, said to have been discovered by Quiros. With this view, at break of day on Saturday the 31st of March, 1770, we got under sail and put to sea, with the advantage of a fresh gale at S.E., and clear weather, taking our departure from the eastern point, which we had seen at noon on the 23rd, and to which, on this occasion, I gave the name of Cape Farewell.

## CHAPTER V

MARCH AND MAY 1770

FROM CAPE FAREWELL, NEW ZEALAND, TO BOTANY BAY—THE NATIVES OF "NEW HOLLAND"—SHY AND UNFRIENDLY AT FIRST—HOISTING THE ENGLISH COLOURS.

HAVING sailed from Cape Farewell on Saturday the 31st of March, 1770, we steered westward with a fresh gale at N.N.E.

In the morning of the 18th, we saw two Port Egmont hens, and a pintado bird, which are certain signs of approaching land, and, indeed, by our reckoning, we could not be far from it, for our longitude was now one degree to the westward of the east side of Van Diemen's Land, according to the longitude laid down by Tasman, whom we could not suppose to have erred much in so short a run as from this land to New Zealand; and by our latitude, we could not be above fifty or fifty-five leagues from the place whence he took his departure. All this day we had frequent squalls and a great swell. At one in the morning we brought to and sounded, but had no ground with 130 fathom; at six we saw land extending from N.E. to W. to the distance of five or six leagues, having eighty fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom.

We brought to for the night, and at four in the morning made sail along-shore to the northward. At six the northernmost land in sight bore N.N.W., and we were at this time about four leagues from the shore. The weather being clear, gave us a good view of the country, which has a very pleasing appearance: it is of a moderate height, diversified by hills and valleys, ridges and plains interspersed with a few lawns of no great extent, but in general covered with wood: the ascent of the hills and ridges is gentle, and the summits are not high. We continued to sail along



the shore to the northward, with a southerly wind, and in the afternoon we saw smoke in several places, by which we knew the country to be inhabited. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and sounded: we found forty-four fathom water, with a clear sandy bottom, and stood on under an easy sail till twelve, when we brought-to for the night, and had ninety fathom water.

At four in the morning we made sail again, at the distance of about five leagues from the land, and at six we were abreast of a high mountain, lying near the shore, which, on account of its figure, I called Mount Dromedary. Under this mountain the shore forms a point to which I gave the name of Point Dromedary, and over it there is a peaked hillock.

At this time, we were between three and four leagues from the shore, and had forty-eight fathom water: the variation by azimuth was  $8^{\circ} 48'$  E. and the extremities of this land were from N.E. by N. to S.W. by S. Before it was dark, we saw smoke in several places along the shore, and a fire two or three times afterwards. During the night we lay becalmed, driving in before the sea till one in the morning, when we got a breeze from the land, with which we steered N.E., being then in thirty-eight fathom: the land was distant about five leagues. In this latitude there are some white cliffs, which rise perpendicularly from the sea to a considerable height. We stood off the shore till two o'clock, and then tacked and stood in till six, when we were within four or five miles of it, and at that distance had fifty fathom water. The extremities of the land bore from S.  $28^{\circ}$  W. to N.  $25^{\circ} 30'$  E. We now tacked and stood off till twelve, then tacked and stood in again till four in the morning, when we made a trip off till daylight; and during all this time we lost ground, owing to the variableness of the winds. We continued

at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore, till the afternoon, when we came within two miles, and I then hoisted out the pinnace and yawl to attempt a landing, but the pinnace proved to be so leaky that I was obliged to hoist her in again. At this time we saw several of the natives walking briskly along the shore, four of whom carried a small canoe upon their shoulders. We flattered ourselves that they were going to put into her the water, and come off to the ship, but finding ourselves disappointed, I determined to go on shore in the yawl, with as many as it would carry. I embarked, therefore, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and four rowers : we pulled for that part of the shore where the Indians appeared, near which four small canoes were lying at the water's edge. The Indians sat down upon the rocks, and seemed to wait for our landing ; but to our great regret, when we came within about a quarter of a mile, they ran away into the woods. We determined, however, to go on shore, and endeavour to procure an interview ; but in this we were again disappointed, for we found so great a surf beating upon every part of the beach, that landing with our little boat was altogether impracticable. We were therefore obliged to be content with gazing at such objects as presented themselves from the water. The canoes, upon a near view, seemed very much to resemble those of the smaller sort at New Zealand. We observed, that among the trees on shore, which were not very large, there was no underwood ; and could distinguish that many of them were of the palm kind, and some of them cabbage trees : after many a wishful look we were obliged to return, with our curiosity rather excited than satisfied, and about five in the evening got on board the ship. About this time it fell calm, and our situation was by no means agreeable. We were now not more than a mile and a half from the

shore, and within some breakers, which lay to the southward; but happily a light breeze came off the land, and carried us out of danger. With this breeze we stood to the northward, and at day-break we discovered a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds, and into which, therefore, I determined to go with the ship. The pinnace being repaired, I sent her, with the master, to sound the entrance, while I kept turning up, having the wind right out. At noon, the mouth of the bay bore N.N.W., distant about a mile, and seeing a smoke on the shore, we directed our glasses to the spot, and soon discovered ten people, who, upon our nearer approach, left their fire, and retired to a little eminence, whence they could conveniently observe our motions. Soon after two canoes, each having two men on board, came to the shore just under the eminence, and the men joined the rest on the top of it. The pinnace, which had been sent a-head to sound, now approached the place, upon which all the Indians retired farther up the hill, except one, who hid himself among some rocks near the landing-place. As the pinnace proceeded along the shore, most of the people took the same route, and kept abreast of her at a distance. When she came back, the master told us, that in a cove a little within the harbour, some of them had come down to the beach, and invited him to land by many signs and words, of which he knew not the meaning; but that all of them were armed with long pikes, and a wooden weapon shaped somewhat like a cimeter. The Indians who had not followed the boat, seeing the ship approach, used many threatening gestures and brandished their weapons; particularly two, who made a very singular appearance, for their faces seemed to have been dusted with a white powder, and their bodies painted with broad streaks of the same colour, which passing obliquely over



their breasts and backs, looked not unlike the cross-belts worn by our soldiers ; the same kind of streaks were also drawn round their legs and thighs, like broad garters. Each of these men held in his hand the weapon that had been described to us as like a cimeter, which appeared to be about two feet and a half long ; and they seemed to talk to each other with great earnestness.

We continued to stand into the bay, and early in the afternoon anchored under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing S.E., and the north point East. As we came in we saw, on both points of the bay, a few huts, and several of the natives, men, women, and children. Under the south head we saw four small canoes, with each one man on board, who were very busily employed in striking fish with a long pike or spear. They ventured almost into the surf, and were so intent upon what they were doing, that although the ship passed within a quarter of a mile of them, they scarcely turned their eyes toward her ; possibly, being deafened by the surf, and their attention wholly fixed upon their business or sport, they neither saw nor heard her go past them.

The place where the ship had anchored was abreast of a small village, consisting of about six or eight houses ; and while we were preparing to hoist out the boat, we saw an old woman, followed by three children, come out of the wood ; she was loaded with fire-wood, and each of the children had also its little burden. When she came to the houses, three more children, younger than the others, came out to meet her : she often looked at the ship, but expressed neither fear nor surprise. In a short time she kindled a fire, and the four canoes came in from fishing. The men landed, and having hauled up their boats, began to dress their dinner, to all appearance,

wholly unconcerned about us, though we were within half a mile of them.

After dinner the boats were manned, and we set out from the ship, having Tupia of our party. We intended to land where we saw the people, and began to hope that as they had so little regard to the ship's coming into the bay, they would as little regard our coming on shore. In this, however, we were disappointed; for as soon as we approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to dispute our landing, and the rest ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in managing or throwing the lance. They called to us in a very loud tone, and in a harsh dissonant language, of which neither we nor Tupia understood a single word: they brandished their weapons, and seemed resolved to defend their coast to the uttermost, though they were but two, and we were forty. I could not but admire their courage, and being very unwilling that hostilities should commence with such inequality of force between us, I ordered the boat to lie upon her oars: we then parleyed by signs for about a quarter of an hour, and to bespeak their good-will, I threw them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be well pleased with. I then made signs that I wanted water, and, by all means that I could devise, endeavoured to convince them that we would do them no harm. They now waved to us, and I was willing to interpret it as an invitation: but upon our putting the boat in, they came again to oppose us. One appeared to be a youth about nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; as I had now no other resource, I fired a musket between them. Upon the report, the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himself in an

instant, he snatched them up again with great haste. A stone was then thrown at us, upon which I ordered a musket to be fired with small-shot, which struck the eldest upon the legs, and he immediately ran to one of the houses, which was distant about a hundred yards. I now hoped that our contest was over, and we immediately landed; but we had scarcely left the boat when he returned, and we then perceived that he had left the rock only to fetch a shield or target for his defence. As soon as he came up, he threw a lance at us, and his comrade another; they fell where we stood thickest, but happily hurt nobody. A third musket with small-shot was then fired at them, upon which one of them threw another lance, and both immediately ran away; if we had pursued, we might probably have taken one of them; but Mr. Banks suggesting that the lances might be poisoned, I thought it not prudent to venture into the woods. We repaired immediately to the huts, in one of which we found the children, who had hidden themselves behind a shield and some bark; we peeped at them, but left them in their retreat, without their knowing that they had been discovered, and we threw into the house, when we went away, some beads, ribbons, pieces of cloth, and other presents, which we hoped would procure us the good-will of the inhabitants when they should return; but the lances which we found lying about we took away with us, to the number of about fifty: they were from six to fifteen feet long, and all of them had four prongs in the manner of a fish-gig, each of which was pointed with fish-bone, and very sharp: we observed that they were smeared with a viscous substance of a green colour, which favoured the opinion of their being poisoned, though we afterwards discovered that it was a mistake: they appeared, by the sea-weed that we found sticking to them, to have been used in striking fish. Upon examining



the canoes that lay upon the beach, we found them to be the worst we had ever seen: they were between twelve and fourteen feet long, and made of the bark of a tree in one piece, which was drawn together and tied up at each end, the middle being kept open by sticks, which were placed across them from gunwale to gunwale as thwarts. We then searched for fresh water, but found none, except in a small hole which had been dug in the sand.

The great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place, induced me to give it the name of Botany Bay. It is capacious, safe, and convenient, and may be known by the land on the sea-coast, which is nearly level, and of a moderate height; in general higher than it is farther inland, with steep rocky cliffs next the sea, which have the appearance of a long island lying close under the shore. The harbour lies about the middle of this land, and in approaching it from the southward, is discovered before the ship comes abreast of it; but from the northward it is not discovered so soon.

During my stay in this harbour I caused the English colours to be displayed on shore every day, and the ship's name and the date of the year to be inscribed upon one of the trees near the watering-place. It is high-water here, at the full and change of the moon, about eight o'clock, and the tide rises and falls perpendicularly between four and five feet.

## CHAPTER VI

JUNE 1770

NARROW ESCAPE OF THE ENDEAVOUR WHEN SHE RAN ON THE REEF—  
LIGHTENING THE SHIP—NEW HOPE—A CLEVER EXPEDIENT—  
CALMNESS OF THE SHIP'S COMPANY—THE SHIP IS SAVED—  
FIRST APPEARANCE OF SCURVY.

HITHERTO we had safely navigated this dangerous coast, where the sea in all parts conceals shoals that suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom, for an extent of two-and-twenty degrees of latitude, more than one thousand three hundred miles; and therefore hitherto none of the names which distinguish the several parts of the country that we saw, are memorials of distress; but here we became acquainted with misfortune, and we therefore called the point which we had just seen farthest to the northward, Cape Tribulation.

We had the advantage of a fine breeze, and a clear moonlight night, and in standing off from six till near nine o'clock, we deepened our water from fourteen to twenty-one fathom; but while we were at supper, it suddenly shoaled, and we fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathom, within the space of a few minutes; I immediately ordered everybody to their station, and all was ready to put about and come to an anchor, but meeting at the next cast of the lead with deep water again, we concluded that we had gone over the tail of the shoals which we had seen at sunset, and that all danger was past: before ten we had twenty and one-and-twenty fathom, and this depth continuing, the gentlemen left the deck in great tranquillity, and went to bed; but a few minutes before eleven, the water shallowed at once from twenty to seventeen fathom; and before the lead could be cast again, the ship struck,

and remained immovable, except by the heaving of the surge that beat her against the crags of the rock upon which she lay. In a few moments everybody was upon the deck, with countenances which sufficiently expressed the horrors of our situation. We had stood off the shore three hours and a half, with a pleasant breeze, and therefore knew that we could not be very near it, and we had too much reason to conclude that we were upon a rock of coral, which is more fatal than any other, because the points of it are sharp, and every part of the surface so rough, as to grind away whatever is rubbed against it, even with the gentlest motion. In this situation all the sails were immediately taken in, and the boats hoisted out to examine the depth of water round the ship: we soon discovered that our fears had not aggravated our misfortune, and that the vessel had been lifted over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it: in some places there was from three to four fathom, and in others not so many feet. The ship lay with her head to the N.E.; and at the distance of about thirty yards on the starboard side, the water deepened to eight, ten, and twelve fathom. As soon as the long-boat was out, we struck our yards and topmasts, and carried out the stream anchor on the starboard bow, got the coasting-anchor and cable into the boat, and were going to carry it out the same way; but upon sounding a second time round the ship, the water was found to be deepest astern: the anchor, therefore, was carried out from the starboard quarter instead of the starboard bow—that is, from the stern instead of the head—and having taken ground, our utmost force was applied to the capstan, hoping that if the anchor did not come home, the ship would be got off; but, to our great misfortune and disappointment, we could not move her: during all this time she continued to beat with great violence against the



rock, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that we kept upon our legs ; and to complete the scene of distress, we saw by the light of the moon the sheathing-boards from the bottom of the vessel floating away all round her, and at last her false keel, so that every moment was making way for the sea to rush in which was to swallow us up. We had now no chance but to lighten her, and we had lost the opportunity of doing that to the greatest advantage, for unhappily we went on shore just at high water, and by this time it had considerably fallen, so that after she should be lightened so as to draw as much less water as the water had sunk, we should be but in the same situation as at first ; and the only alleviation of this circumstance was, that as the tide ebbed the ship settled to the rocks, and was not beaten against them with so much violence. We had indeed some hope from the next tide, but it was doubtful whether she would hold together so long, especially as the rock kept grating her bottom under the starboard bow with such force as to be heard in the fore store-room. This, however, was no time to indulge conjecture, nor was any effort remitted in despair of success : that no time might be lost, the water was immediately started in the hold, and pumped up ; six of our guns, being all we had upon the deck, our iron and stone ballast, casks, hoop-staves, oil-jars, decayed stores, and many other things that lay in the way of heavier materials, were thrown overboard with the utmost expedition, every one exerting himself with an alacrity almost approaching to cheerfulness, without the least repining or discontent ; yet the men were so far impressed with a sense of their situation, that not an oath was heard among them, the habit of profaneness, however strong, being instantly subdued by the dread of incurring guilt when death seemed to be so near.

While we were thus employed day broke upon us, and

we saw the land at about eight leagues distance, without any island in the intermediate space, upon which, if the ship should have gone to pieces, we might have been set ashore by the boats, and from which they might have taken us by different turns to the main : the wind, however, gradually died away, and early in the forenoon it was a dead calm : if it had blown hard the ship must inevitably have been destroyed. At eleven in the forenoon we expected high water, and anchors were got out, and everything made ready for another effort to heave her off if she should float, but to our inexpressible surprise and concern, she did not float by a foot and a half, though we had lightened her near fifty ton ; so much did the day-tide fall short of that in the night. We now proceeded to lighten her still more, and threw overboard everything that it was possible for us to spare : hitherto she had not admitted much water, but as the tide fell, it rushed in so fast, that two pumps, incessantly worked, could scarcely keep her free. At two o'clock she lay heeling two or three streaks to starboard, and the pinnacle, which lay under her bows, touched the ground : we had now no hope but from the tide at midnight, and to prepare for it we carried out our two bower-anchors, one on the starboard quarter, and the other right astern, got the blocks and tackle which were to give us a purchase upon the cables in order, and brought the falls, or ends of them, in abaft, straining them tight, that the next effort might operate upon the ship, and by shortening the length of the cable between that and the anchors, draw her off the ledge upon which she rested, towards the deep water. About five o'clock in the afternoon, we observed the tide begin to rise, but we observed at the same time that the leak increased to a most alarming degree, so that two more pumps were manned, but unhappily only one of them would work. Three of the pumps, however,

were kept going, and at nine o'clock the ship righted ; but the leak had gained upon us so considerably, that it was imagined she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. This was a dreadful circumstance, so that we anticipated the floating of the ship not as an earnest of deliverance, but as an event that would probably precipitate our destruction. We well knew that our boats were not capable of carrying us all on shore, and that when the dreadful crisis should arrive, as all command and subordination would be at an end, a contest for preference would probably ensue, that would increase even the horrors of shipwreck, and terminate in the destruction of us all by the hands of each other ; yet we knew that if any should be left on board to perish in the waves, they would probably suffer less upon the whole than those who should get on shore, without any lasting or effectual defence against the natives, in a country where even nets and fire-arms would scarcely furnish them with food : and where, if they should find the means of subsistence, they must be condemned to languish out the remainder of life in a desolate wilderness, without the possession, or even hope, of any domestic comfort, and cut off from all commerce with mankind, except the naked savages who prowled the desert, and who perhaps were some of the most rude and uncivilized upon the earth.

To those who only have waited in a state of such suspense, death has approached in all his terrors ; and as the dreadful moment that was to determine our fate came on, every one saw his own sensations pictured in the countenances of his companions : however, the capstan and windlass were manned with as many hands as could be spared from the pumps, and the ship floating about twenty minutes after ten o'clock, the effort was made, and she was heaved into deep water. It was some comfort to find



that she did not now admit more water than she had done upon the rock ; and though, by the gaining of the leak upon the pumps, there was no less than three feet nine inches water in the hold, yet the men did not relinquish their labour, and we held the water as it were at bay ; but having now endured excessive fatigue of body and agitation of mind for more than four-and-twenty hours, and having but little hope of succeeding at last, they began to flag : none of them could work at the pump more than five or six minutes together, and then, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water was running over it from the pumps, between three and four inches deep ; when those who succeeded them had worked their spell, and were exhausted in their turn, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others started up again, and renewed their labour ; thus relieving each other till an accident was very near putting an end to their efforts at once. The planking which lines the inside of the ship's bottom is called the ceiling, and between this and the outside planking there is a space of about eighteen inches : the man who till this time had attended the well to take the depth of water, had taken it only to the ceiling, and gave the measure accordingly ; but he being now relieved, the person who came in his stead reckoned the depth to the outside planking, by which it appeared in a few minutes to have gained upon the pumps eighteen inches, the difference between the planking without and within. Upon this, even the bravest was upon the point of giving up his labour with his hope, and in a few minutes everything would have been involved in all the confusion of despair. But this accident, however dreadful in its first consequences, was eventually the cause of our preservation : the mistake was soon detected, and the sudden joy which

every man felt upon finding his situation better than his fears had suggested, operated like a charm, and seemed to possess him with a strong belief that scarcely any real danger remained. New confidence and new hope, however founded, inspired new vigour; and though our state was the same as when the men first began to slacken in their labour through weariness and despondency, they now renewed their efforts with such alacrity and spirit, that before eight o'clock in the morning the leak was so far from having gained upon the pumps, that the pumps had gained considerably upon the leak. Everybody now talked of getting the ship into some harbour as a thing not to be doubted, and as hands could be spared from the pumps, they were employed in getting up the anchors: the stream-anchor and best bower we had taken on board; but it was found impossible to save the little bower, and therefore it was cut away at a whole cable: we lost also the cable of the stream-anchor among the rocks; but in our situation these were trifles which scarcely attracted our notice. Our next business was to get up the fore-topmast and fore-yard, and warp the ship to the south-east, and at eleven, having now a breeze from the sea, we once more got under sail and stood for the land.

It was, however, impossible long to continue the labour by which the pumps had been made to gain upon the leak; and as the exact situation of it could not be discovered, we had no hope of stopping it within. In this situation Mr. Monkhouse, one of my midshipmen, came to me, and proposed an expedient that he had once seen used on board a merchant-ship, which sprung a leak that admitted above four feet water an hour, and which, by this expedient, was brought safely from Virginia to London; the master having such confidence in it, that he took her out of harbour, knowing her condition, and did not think

it worth while to wait till the leak could be otherwise stopped. To this man, therefore, the care of the expedient, which is called fothering the ship, was immediately committed, four or five of the people being appointed to assist him, and he performed it in this manner : he took a lower studdingsail, and having mixed together a large quantity of oakum and wool, chopped pretty small, he stitched it down in handfuls upon the sail, as lightly as possible, and over this he spread the dung of our sheep and other filth ; but horse-dung, if we had had it, would have been better. When the sail was thus prepared, it was hauled under the ship's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended, and when it came under the leak, the suction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail, which in other parts the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off. By the success of this expedient our leak was so far reduced, that instead of gaining upon three pumps, it was easily kept under with one. This was a new source of confidence and comfort ; the people could scarcely have expressed more joy if they had been already in port ; and their views were so far from being limited to running the ship ashore in some harbour, either of an island or the main, and building a vessel out of her materials to carry us to the East Indies, which had so lately been the utmost object of our hope, that nothing was now thought of but ranging along the shore in search of a convenient place to repair the damage she had sustained, and then prosecuting the voyage upon the same plan as if nothing had happened. Upon this occasion I must observe, both in justice and gratitude to the ship's company, and the gentlemen on board, that although in the midst of our distress every one seemed to have a just sense of his danger, yet no passionate exclamations or frantic gestures were to be heard or seen ; every



one appeared to have the perfect possession of his mind ; and every one exerted himself to the uttermost, with a quiet and patient perseverance, equally distant from the tumultuous violence of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of despair. In the mean time, having light airs at E.S.E., we got up the main-top-mast and main-yard, and kept edging in for the land, till about six o'clock in the evening, when we came to an anchor in seventeen fathom water, at the distance of seven leagues from the shore, and one from the ledge of rocks upon which we had struck.

The scurvy now began to make its appearance among us, with many formidable symptoms. Our poor Indian, Tupia, who had some time before complained that his gums were sore and swelled, and who had taken plentifully of our lemon juice by the surgeon's direction, had now livid spots upon his legs, and other indubitable testimonies that the disease had made a rapid progress, notwithstanding all our remedies, among which the bark had been liberally administered. Mr. Green, our astronomer, was also declining ; and these, among other circumstances, embittered the delay which prevented our going ashore.

## CHAPTER VII

AUGUST 1770 TO JUNE 1771

DEPARTURE FROM ENDEAVOUR RIVER—OPEN SEA AT LAST—A NEW AND DREADFUL SITUATION—NEW SOUTH WALES—AT BATAVIA—THE START FOR THE CAPE—SICKNESS ON BOARD—ST. HELENA—BACK TO ENGLAND.

To the harbour which we had now left, I gave the name of Endeavour River. It is only a small bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland, and at the head of which there is a small brook of fresh water. There is not depth of water for shipping above a mile within the bar, and at this distance only on the north side, where the bank is so steep for near a quarter of a mile that a ship may lie afloat at low water, so near the shore as to reach it with a stage, and the situation is extremely convenient for heaving down ; but at low water, the depth upon the bar is not more than nine or ten feet, nor more than seventeen or eighteen at the height of the tide ; the difference between high and low water at spring-tides being about nine feet. At the new and full of the moon, it is high water between nine and ten o'clock. It must also be remembered, that this part of the coast is so barricaded with shoals as to make the harbour still more difficult of access ; the safest approach is from the southward, keeping the main land close upon the board all the way. Its situation may always be found by the latitude, which has been very accurately laid down. Over the south point is some high land, but the north point is formed by a low sandy beach, which extends about three miles to the northward, where the land begins again to be high.

The chief refreshment that we procured here was turtle ; but as they were not to be had without going five leagues

out to sea, and the weather was frequently tempestuous, we did not abound with this dainty. What we caught, as well as the fish, was always equally divided among us all by weight, the meanest person on board having the same share as myself; and I think every commander, in such a voyage as this, will find it his interest to follow the same rule.

Our change of situation was now visible in every countenance, for it was most sensibly felt in every breast: we had been little less than three months entangled among shoals and rocks, that every moment threatened us with destruction; frequently passing our nights at anchor within hearing of the surge that broke over them: sometimes driving towards them even while our anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident, to which an almost continual tempest exposed us, they should not hold, we must in a few minutes inevitably perish. But now, after having sailed no less than three hundred and sixty leagues, without once having a man out of the chains heaving the lead, even for a minute, which perhaps never happened to any other vessel, we found ourselves in an open sea, with deep water; and enjoyed a flow of spirits, which was equally owing to our late dangers and our present security: yet the very waves, which by their swell convinced us that we had no rocks or shoals to fear, convinced us also that we could not safely put the same confidence in our vessel as before she had struck; for the blows she received from them so widened her leaks, that she admitted no less than nine inches water an hour, which, considering the state of our pumps, and the navigation that was still before us, would have been a subject of more serious consideration to people whose danger had not so lately been so much more imminent.

When we had stood about two miles S.S.E. it fell calm;



we had sounded several times during the night, but had no bottom with one hundred and forty fathom, neither had we any ground now with the same length of line ; yet, about four in the morning, we plainly heard the roaring of the surf, and at break of day saw it foaming to a vast height, at not more than a mile's distance. Our distress now returned upon us with double force ; the waves, which rolled in upon the reef, carried us towards it very fast ; we could reach no ground with an anchor, and had not a breath of wind for the sail. In this dreadful situation, no resource was left us but the boats ; and to aggravate our misfortune, the pinnace was under repair : the long-boat and yawl, however, were put into the water, and sent ahead to tow, which, by the help of our sweeps abaft, got the ship's head round to the northward ; which, if it could not prevent our destruction, might at least delay it. But it was six o'clock before this was effected, and we were not then a hundred yards from the rock upon which the same billow which washed the side of the ship, broke to a tremendous height the very next time it rose ; so that between us and destruction there was only a dreary valley, no wider than the base of one wave, and even now the sea under us was unfathomable, at least no bottom was to be found with a hundred and twenty fathom. During this scene of distress the carpenter had found means to patch up the pinnace ; so that she was hoisted out, and sent ahead, in aid of the other boats, to tow ; but all our efforts would have been ineffectual, if, just at this crisis of our fate, a light air of wind had not sprung up—so light, that at any other time we should not have observed it, but which was enough to turn the scale in our favour, and, in conjunction with the assistance which was afforded us by the boats, to give the ship a perceptible motion obliquely from the reef. Our hopes now revived ;

but in less than ten minutes it was again a dead calm, and the ship was again driven towards the breakers, which were not now two hundred yards distant. The same light breeze, however, returned before we had lost all the ground it had enabled us to gain, and lasted about ten minutes more. During this time we discovered a small opening in the reef, at about the distance of a quarter of a mile: I immediately sent one of the mates to examine it, who reported that its breadth was not more than the length of the ship, but that within it there was smooth water: this discovery seemed to render our escape possible, and that was all, by pushing the ship through the opening, which was immediately attempted. It was uncertain, indeed, whether we could reach it; but if we should succeed thus far, we made no doubt of being able to get through: in this, however, we were disappointed, for having reached it by the joint assistance of our boats and the breeze, we found that in the mean time it had become high water, and to our great surprise we met the tide of ebb rushing out of it like a mill-stream. We gained, however, some advantage, though in a manner directly contrary to our expectations; we found it impossible to go through the opening, but the stream that prevented us, carried us out about a quarter of a mile; it was too narrow for us to keep in it longer; yet this tide of ebb so much assisted the boats, that by noon we had got an offing of near two miles. We had, however, reason to despair of deliverance, even if the breeze, which had now died away, should revive, for we were still embayed in the reef; and the tide of ebb being spent, the tide of flood, notwithstanding our utmost efforts, again drove the ship into the bight. About this time, however, we saw another opening, near a mile to the westward, which I immediately sent the first lieutenant, Mr. Hicks, in the small boat to

examine: in the mean time we struggled hard with the flood, sometimes gaining a little, and sometimes losing; but every man still did his duty, with as much calmness and regularity as if no danger had been near. About two o'clock Mr. Hicks returned, with an account that the opening was narrow and dangerous, but that it might be passed: the possibility of passing it was sufficient encouragement to make the attempt, for all danger was less imminent than that of our present situation. A light breeze now sprung up at E.N.E., with which, by the help of our boats, and the very tide of flood that, without an opening, would have been our destruction, we entered it, and were hurried through with amazing rapidity, by a torrent that kept us from driving against either side of the channel, which was not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth. While we were shooting this gulf, our soundings were from thirty to seven fathom, very irregular, and the ground at bottom very foul.

As soon as we had got within the reef, we anchored in nineteen fathom, over a bottom of coral and shells. And now, such is the vicissitude of life, we thought ourselves happy in having regained a situation which, but two days before, it was the utmost object of our hope to quit. Rocks and shoals are always dangerous to the mariner, even where their situation has been ascertained; they are more dangerous in seas which have never before been navigated, and in this part of the globe they are more dangerous than in any other; for here they are reefs of coral rock, rising like a wall almost perpendicularly out of the unfathomable deep, always overflowed at high water, and at low water dry in many places; and here the enormous waves of the vast Southern Ocean meeting with so abrupt a resistance, break, with inconceivable violence, in a surf which no rocks or storms in the northern hemisphere can



produce. The danger of navigating unknown parts of this ocean was now greatly increased by our having a crazy ship, and being short of provisions and every other necessary ; yet the distinction of a first discoverer made us cheerfully encounter every danger, and submit to every inconvenience ; and we chose rather to incur the censure of imprudence and temerity, which the idle and voluptuous so liberally bestow upon unsuccessful fortitude and perseverance, than leave a country which we had discovered unexplored, and give colour to a charge of timidity and irresolution.

Having now congratulated ourselves upon getting within the reef, notwithstanding we had so lately congratulated ourselves upon getting without it, I resolved to keep the main land on board in my future route to the northward, whatever the consequence might be ; for if we had now gone without the reef again, it might have carried us so far from the coast as to prevent my being able to determine, whether this country did, or did not join to New Guinea ; a question which I was determined to resolve from my first coming within sight of land.

New Holland, or, as I have now called the eastern coast, New South Wales, is of a larger extent than of any other country in the known world that does not bear the name of a continent ; the length of coast along which we sailed, reduced to a straight line, is no less than twenty-seven degrees of latitude, amounting to near 2,000 miles, so that its square surface must be much more than equal to all Europe. To the southward of 33 or 34, the land in general is low and level ; farther northward it is hilly, but in no part can be called mountainous ; and the hills and mountains, taken together, make but a small part of

the surface, in comparison with the valleys and plains. It is, upon the whole, rather barren than fertile : yet the rising ground is chequered by woods and lawns, and the plains and valleys are in many places covered with herbage : soil, however, is frequently sandy, and many of the lawns, or savannahs, are rocky and barren, especially to the northward, where, in the best spots, vegetation was less vigorous than in the southern part of the country ; the trees were not so tall, nor was the herbage so rich. The grass in general is high, but thin, and the trees, where they are largest, are seldom less than forty feet asunder ; nor is the country inland, as far as we could examine it, better clothed than the sea-coast. The banks of the bays are covered with mangroves, to the distance of a mile within the beach, under which the soil is a rank mud, that is always overflowed by a spring-tide ; farther in the country we sometimes met with a bog, upon which the grass was very thick and luxuriant, and sometimes with a valley, that was clothed with underwood : the soil in some parts seemed to be capable of improvement, but the far greater part is such as can admit of no cultivation. The coast, at least that part of it which lies to the northward of  $25^{\circ}$  S., abounds with fine bays and harbours, where vessels may lie in perfect security from all winds.

If we may judge by the appearance of the country while we were there, which was in the very height of the dry season, it is well watered : we found innumerable small brooks and springs, but no great rivers ; these brooks, however, probably become large in the rainy season. Thirsty Sound was the only place where fresh water was not to be procured for the ship, and even there one or two small pools were found in the woods, though the face of the country was everywhere intersected by salt creeks and mangrove land.

We were not able to weather Pulo Pare this day, but getting the land wind at south about ten o'clock at night, we weighed and stood to the E.S.E. all night. At ten in the morning, we anchored again, to wait for the sea breeze ; and at noon it sprung up at N.N.E., with which we stood in for Batavia road, where at four o'clock in the afternoon we came to an anchor.

We found here the *Harcourt* Indiaman from England, two English private traders of that country, thirteen sail of large Dutch ships, and a considerable number of small vessels. A boat came immediately on board from a ship which had a broad pendant flying, and the officer who commanded, having inquired who we were, and whence we came, immediately returned with such answers as we thought fit to give him : both he and his people were as pale as spectres, a sad presage of our sufferings in so unhealthy a country ; but our people, who, except Tupia, were all rosy and plump, seemed to think themselves so seasoned by various climates that nothing could hurt them. In the mean time, I sent a lieutenant ashore to acquaint the Governor of our arrival, and to make an excuse for our not saluting ; for as I could salute with only three guns, except the swivels, which I was of opinion would not be heard, I thought it was better to let it alone. As soon as the boat was despatched, the carpenter delivered me an account of the defects of the ship, of which the following is a copy :

“ The defects of his Majesty's bark *Endeavour*, Lieutenant James Cook Commander.

“ The ship very leaky, as she makes from twelve to six inches water an hour, occasioned by her main keel being wounded in many places, and the scarfs of her stern being very open : the false keel gone beyond the midships from forward, and perhaps farther, as I had no



opportunity of seeing for the water when hauled ashore for repairing : wounded on the larboard side under the main channel, where I imagine the greatest leak is, but could not come at it for the water : one pump on the larboard side useless ; the others decayed within an inch and a half of the bore. Otherwise masts, yards, boats, and hull, in pretty good condition."

As it was the universal opinion that the ship could not safely proceed to Europe without an examination of her bottom, I determined to apply for leave to heave her down at this place ; and as I understood that it would be necessary to make this application in writing, I drew up a request, and the next morning, having got it translated into Dutch, we all went ashore.

We repaired immediately to the house of Mr. Leith, the only Englishman of any credit who is resident at this place ; he received us with great politeness, and engaged us to dinner : to this gentleman we applied for instructions how to provide ourselves with lodgings and necessaries while we should stay ashore, and he told us, that there was an hotel or kind of inn, kept by the order of government, where all merchants and strangers were obliged to reside, paying half per cent. upon the value of their goods for warehouse room, which the master of the house was obliged to provide ; but that as we came in a king's ship, we should be at liberty to live where we pleased, upon asking the governor's permission, which would be granted of course. He said, that it would be cheaper for us to take a house in the town, and bring our own servants ashore, if we had anybody upon whom we could depend to buy in our provisions ; but as this was not the case, having no person among us who could speak the Malay language, our gentlemen determined to go to the hotel. At the hotel, therefore, beds were immediately hired, and word

was sent that we should sleep there at night. At five o'clock in the afternoon, I was introduced to the governor-general, who received me very courteously; he told me, that I should have everything I wanted, and that in the morning my request should be laid before the council, which I was desired to attend.

At six in the morning of the 26th Nov., 1770, we weighed and set sail, with a light breeze at S.W. The *Elgin* Indian saluted us with three cheers and thirteen guns, and the garrison fourteen, both which, with the help of our swivels, we returned, and soon after the sea-breeze set in at N. by W., which obliged us to anchor just without the ships in the road. At this time the number of sick on board amounted to forty, and the rest of the ship's company were in a very feeble condition. Every individual had been sick except the sail-maker, an old man between seventy and eighty years of age, and it is very remarkable that this old man, during our stay at this place, was constantly drunk every day: we had buried seven, the surgeon, three seamen, Mr. Green's servant, Tupia, and Tayeto his boy. All but Tupia fell a sacrifice to the unwholesome, stagnant, putrid air of the country; and he who, from his birth, had been used to subsist chiefly upon vegetable food, particularly ripe fruit, soon contracted all the disorders that are incident to a sea life, and would probably have sunk under them before we could have completed our voyage, if we had not been obliged to go to Batavia to refit.

We now made the best of our way for the Cape of Good Hope, but the seeds of disease which we had received at Batavia began to appear with the most threatening symptoms in dysenteries and slow fevers. Lest the water which we had taken in at Prince's Island should have had any share in our sickness, we purified it with lime, and we washed all parts of the ship between decks with vinegar,

as a remedy against infection. Mr. Banks was among the sick, and for some time there was no hope of his life. We were very soon in a most deplorable situation; the ship was nothing better than an hospital, in which those that were able to go about were too few to attend the sick, who were confined to their hammocks; and we had almost every night a dead body to commit to the sea. In the course of about six weeks, we buried Mr. Sporing, a gentleman who was in Mr. Banks's retinue; Mr. Parkinson, his natural history painter; Mr. Green the astronomer, the boatswain, the carpenter and his mate; Mr. Monkhouse the midshipman, who had fothered the ship after she had been stranded on the coast of New Holland; our old jolly sail-maker and his assistant, the ship's cook, the corporal of the marines, two of the carpenter's crew, a midshipman, and nine seamen; in all three-and-twenty persons, besides the seven that we buried at Batavia.

We proceeded in our voyage homeward, without any remarkable incident; and in the morning of the 29th we crossed our first meridian, having circumnavigated the globe in the direction from east to west, and consequently lost a day, for which we made an allowance at Batavia.

At daybreak, on the first of May, 1771, we saw the island of St. Helena; and at noon, we anchored in the road before James's Fort.

Our rigging and sails were now become so bad that something was giving way every day. We continued our course, however, in safety till the 10th of June, when land, which proved to be the Lizard, was discovered by Nicholas Young, the same boy that first saw New Zealand: on the 11th, we run up the channel; at six in the morning of the 12th we passed Beachy Head; at noon we were abreast of Dover, and about three came to an anchor in the Downs, and went ashore at Deal.



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## SECOND VOYAGE

TO THE SOUTHERN ICE, AND ROUND THE WORLD  
IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS *RESOLUTION* AND  
*ADVENTURE* IN THE YEARS 1772, 1773, 1774,  
AND 1775

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## CHAPTER VIII

JUNE 1772 TO MARCH 1773

THE START—OBJECTS OF THE VOYAGE—MADEIRA—THE CAPE—ICE ISLANDS—ICE ON THE RIGGING—THE ADVENTURE LOSES TOUCH—MORE ICE ISLANDS—BACK TO NEW ZEALAND—GOOD STATE OF HEALTH IN THE CREW.

AT Plymouth I received my instructions, dated the 25th of June, directing me to take under my command the *Adventure*; to make the best of my way to the island of Madeira, there to take in a supply of wine, and then proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, where I was to refresh the ships' companies, and take on board such provisions and necessaries as I might stand in need of. After leaving the Cape of Good Hope, I was to proceed to the southward, and endeavour to fall in with Cape Circumcision. If I discovered this cape, I was to satisfy myself whether it was a part of the continent, which had so much engaged the attention of geographers and former navigators, or a part of an island. If it proved to be the former, I was to employ myself diligently in exploring as great an extent of it as I could; and to make such notations thereon, and observations of every kind, as might be useful either to navigation or commerce, or tend to the promotion of natural knowledge. I was also directed to observe the genius, temper, disposition, and number of the inhabitants, if there were any, and endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them; making them presents of such things as they might value; inviting them to traffic, and showing them every kind of civility and regard. I was to continue to employ myself on this service, and making discoveries, either to the eastward or westward, as my situation might render most eligible; keeping in a high as latitude as I could, and prosecuting

my discoveries as near to the South Pole as possible, so long as the condition of the ships, the health of their crews, and the state of their provisions, would admit of; taking care to reserve as much of the latter as would enable me to reach some known port, where I was to procure a sufficiency to bring me home to England.

On the 13th July, at six o'clock in the morning, I sailed from Plymouth Sound, with the *Adventure* in company; and on the evening of the 29th, anchored in Funchal Road, in the island of Madeira.

Having got on board a supply of water, wine, and other necessaries, we left Madeira on the 1st of August, and stood to the southward, with a fine gale at N.E.

At two in the afternoon, on the 29th, we made the land of the Cape of Good Hope. The Table Mountain, which is over the Cape Town, bore E.S.E. distance 12 or 14 leagues. At this time it was a good deal obscured by clouds, otherwise it might, from its height, have been seen at a much greater distance. We now crowded all the sail we could, thinking to get into the bay before dark. But when we found this could not be accomplished, we shortened sail, and spent the night standing off and on. Between eight and nine o'clock, the whole sea, within the compass of our sight, became at once, as it were, illuminated; or, what the seamen call, all on fire. This appearance of the sea, in some degree, is very common; but the cause is not so generally known. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had satisfied me that it was occasioned by sea insects. Mr. Forster, however, seemed not to favour this opinion. I therefore had some buckets of water drawn up from along-side the ship, which we found full of an innumerable quantity of small globular insects, about the size of a common pin's head, and quite transparent. There was no doubt of their being living animals, when in their

proper element, though we could not perceive any life in them : Mr. Forster, whose province it is more minutely to describe things of this nature, was now well satisfied with the cause of the sea's illumination.

Having at length finished my business at the Cape, and taken leave of the governor and some others of the chief officers, who, with very obliging readiness, had given me all the assistance I could desire, on the 22d November we repaired on board, and at three o'clock in the afternoon weighed, and came to sail with the wind at N. by W.

In the night, the wind verred to N.W., which enabled us to steer S.W. On the 12th, we had still thick hazy weather, with sleet and snow ; so that we were obliged to proceed with great caution on account of the ice islands : six of these we passed this day ; some of them near two miles in circuit, and 60 feet high. And yet, such was the force and height of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. This exhibited a view, which for a few moments was pleasing to the eye ; but when we reflected on the danger, the mind was filled with horror ; for, were a ship to get against the weather-side of one of these islands when the sea runs high, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment. Upon our getting among the ice islands, the albatrosses left us ; that is, we saw but one now and then ; nor did our other companions, the pintadoes, sheer-waters, small grey birds, fulmars, &c. appear in such numbers ; on the other hand, penguins began to make their appearance. Two of these birds were seen to-day.

At two o'clock the next morning, we stood again to the northward, with the wind at N.W. by W., thinking to weather the ice upon this tack ; on which we stood but two hours, before we found ourselves quite imbayed. The wind veering more to the north, we tacked, and stood to the westward under all the sail we could carry, having



a fresh breeze and clear weather, which last was of short duration. For at six o'clock, it became hazy, and soon after there was thick fog ; the wind veered to the N.E., freshened, and brought with it snow and sleet, which froze on the rigging as it fell. We were now enabled to get clear of the field of ice ; but at the same time we were carried in amongst the ice islands, in a manner equally dangerous, and which, with much difficulty, we kept clear of.

Dangerous as it is to sail among these floating rocks (if I may be allowed to call them so) in a thick fog, this, however, is preferable to being entangled with immense fields of ice under the same circumstances. The great danger to be apprehended in this latter case, is the getting fast in the ice ; a situation which would be exceedingly alarming. I had two men on board that had been in the Greenland trade ; the one of them in a ship that lay nine weeks, and the other in one that lay six weeks, fast in this kind of ice ; which they called packed ice. What *they* call field ice is thicker ; and the whole field, be it ever so large, consists of one piece. Whereas this which *I* call field ice, from its immense extent, consists of many pieces of various sizes, both in thickness and surface, from 30 to 40 feet square to 3 or 4 ; packed close together ; and in places heaped one upon another. This, I am of opinion, would be found too hard for a ship's side, that is not properly armed against it. How long it may have lain, or will lie here, is a point not easily determined. Such ice is found in the Greenland seas all the summer long ; and I think it cannot be colder there in the summer, than it is here. Be this as it may, we certainly had no thaw ; on the contrary, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer kept generally below the freezing point, although it was the middle of summer.

Our course was east,  $\frac{3}{4}$  north, till noon the next day,

when we were in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 2'$  south, and nearly under the same meridian as we were when we fell in with the last field of ice, five days before ; so that had it remained in the same situation, we must now have been in the middle of it ; whereas we did not so much as see any. We cannot suppose that so large a float of ice as this was could be destroyed in so short a time ; it therefore must have drifted to the northward ; and this makes it probable that there is no land under this meridian, between the latitude of  $55^{\circ}$  and  $59^{\circ}$ , where we had supposed some to lie, as mentioned above.

As we were now only sailing over a part of the sea where we had been before, I directed the course E.S.E., in order to get more to the south. We had the advantage of a fresh gale, and the disadvantage of a thick fog ; much snow and sleet, which, as usual, froze on our rigging as it fell, so that every rope was covered with the finest transparent ice I ever saw. This afforded an agreeable sight enough to the eye, but conveyed to the mind an idea of coldness much greater than it really was ; for the weather was rather milder than it had been for some time past, and the sea less encumbered with ice. But the worst was, the ice so clogged the rigging, sails, and blocks, as to make them exceedingly bad to handle. Our people, however, surmounted those difficulties with a steady perseverance, and withstood this intense cold much better than I expected.

After meeting with this ice, I did not think it was at all prudent to persevere in getting farther to the south, especially as the summer was already half spent, and it would have taken up some time to have got round the ice, even supposing it to have been practicable, which, however, is doubtful. I therefore came to a resolution to proceed directly in search of the land lately discovered by the French. And as the winds still continued at E. by S., I was obliged to

return to the north, over some part of the sea I had already made myself acquainted with, and for that reason wished to have avoided. But this was not to be done; as our course, made good, was little better than north. In the night, the wind increased to a strong gale, attended with sleet and snow, and obliged us to double-reef our top-sails. About noon the next day, the gale abated; so that we could bear all our reefs out; but the wind still remained in its old quarter.

I continued to keep the wind on the larboard tack, and to fire a gun every hour till noon; when I made the signal to tack, and tacked accordingly. But as neither this signal, nor any of the former, was answered by the *Adventure*, we had but too much reason to think that a separation had taken place; though we were at a loss to tell how it had been effected. I had directed Captain Furneaux, in case he was separated from me, to cruise three days in the place where he last saw me. I therefore continued making short boards, and firing half-hour guns, till the 9th in the afternoon, when the weather having cleared up, we could see several leagues round us, and found that the *Adventure* was not within the limits of our horizon. At this time, we were about two or three leagues to the eastward of the situation we were in when we last saw her, and were standing to the westward with a very strong gale at N.N.W., accompanied with a great sea from the same direction. This, together with an increase of wind, obliged us to lie-to, till eight o'clock the next morning; during which time we saw nothing of the *Adventure*, notwithstanding the weather was pretty clear, and we had kept firing guns, and burning false fires, all night. I therefore gave over looking for her, made sail, and steered S.E. with a very fresh gale at W. by N., accompanied with a high sea from the same direction. While we were beating



about here, we frequently saw penguins and divers, which made us conjecture that land was not far off; but in what direction, it was not possible for us to tell. As we advanced to the south, we lost the penguins, and most of the divers, and, as usual, met with abundance of albatrosses, blue petrels, sheerwaters, &c.

The wind gradually veered to the east, and, at last, fixing at E. by S., blew a fresh gale. With this, we stood to the south, till eight o'clock in the evening of the 23d; at which time, we were in the latitude  $61^{\circ} 52'$  south, longitude  $95^{\circ} 2'$  east. We now tacked, and spent the night, which was exceedingly stormy, thick, and hazy, with sleet and snow, in making short boards. Surrounded on every side with danger, it was natural for us to wish for daylight: this, when it came, served only to increase our apprehensions, by exhibiting to our view those huge mountains of ice which, in the night, we had passed without seeing.

These unfavourable circumstances, together with dark nights, at this advanced season of the year, quite discouraged me from putting in execution a resolution I had taken of crossing the Antarctic circle once more. Accordingly, at four o'clock in the morning, we stood to the north, with a very hard gale at E.S.E., accompanied with snow and sleet, and a very high sea, from the same point, which made great destruction among the ice islands. This circumstance, far from being of any advantage to us, greatly increased the number of pieces we had to avoid. The large pieces which break from the ice islands are much more dangerous than the islands themselves; the latter are so high out of water, that we can generally see them, unless the weather be very thick and dark, before we are very near them; whereas the others cannot be seen in the night, till they are under the ship's bows.

These dangers were, however, now become so familiar to us, that the apprehensions they caused were never of long duration, and were, in some measure, compensated, both by the seasonable supplies of fresh water these ice islands afforded us (without which we must have been greatly distressed), and also by their very romantic appearance, greatly heightened by the foaming and dashing of the waves into the curious holes and caverns which are formed in many of them; the whole exhibiting a view which at once filled the mind with admiration and horror, and can only be described by the hand of an able painter. Towards the evening, the gale abated; and in the night we had two or three hours' calm. This was succeeded by a light breeze at west; with which we steered east, under all the sail we could set, meeting with many ice islands.

The next morning we saw a seal, and towards noon some penguins, and more rock-weed, being at this time in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 1'$ , longitude  $152^{\circ} 1'$  E. In the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 4'$ , we also saw a Port-Egmont hen, and some weed. Navigators have generally looked upon all these to be certain signs of the vicinity of land; I cannot, however, support this opinion. At this time we knew of no land, nor is it even probable that there is any, nearer than New Holland, or Van Diemen's Land, from which we were distant 260 leagues. We had, at the same time, several porpoises playing about us; into one of which Mr. Cooper struck a harpoon; but, as the ship was running seven knots, it broke its hold, after towing it some minutes, and before we could deaden the ship's way. As the wind, which continued between north and the west, would not permit me to touch at Van Diemen's Land, I shaped my course to New Zealand.

After such a long continuance at sea, in a high southern latitude, it is but reasonable to think that many of my

people must be ill of the scurvy. The contrary, however, happened. Mention hath already been made of sweet wort being given to such as were scorbutic. This had so far the desired effect, that we had only one man on board that could be called very ill of this disease; occasioned, chiefly, by a bad habit of body, and a complication of other disorders. We did not attribute the general good state of health in the crew wholly to the sweet wort, but to the frequent airing and sweetening the ship by fires, &c. We must also allow portable broth, and sour krout to have had some share in it. This last can never be enough recommended.

My first care, after the ship was moored, was to send a boat and people a-fishing; in the mean time, some of the gentlemen killed a seal (out of many that were upon a rock), which made us a fresh meal.



## CHAPTER IX

MARCH TO MAY 1773

IN DUSKY BAY—GOING ASHORE—OBSERVATORY AND FORGE—  
NATIVES APPEAR—MAKING ADVANCES—VISIT OF A CHIEF AND  
HIS DAUGHTER—SEAL HUNTING—GEESE—PLANTING VEGETABLE  
SEEDS—BIRDS IN DUSKY BAY.

As I did not like the place we had anchored in, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill over to the S.E. side of the bay, to search for a better; and I went myself to the other side, for the same purpose, where I met with an exceedingly snug harbour, but nothing else worthy of notice. Mr. Pickersgill reported, upon his return, that he had found a good harbour, with every convenience. As I liked the situation of this better than the other of my own finding, I determined to go there in the morning. The fishing-boat was very successful; returning with fish sufficient for all hands for supper, and, in a few hours in the morning, caught as many as served for dinner. This gave us certain hopes of being plentifully supplied with this article. Nor did the shores and woods appear less destitute of wild-fowl; so that we hoped to enjoy with ease, what in our situation might be called the luxuries of life. This determined me to stay some time in this bay, in order to examine it thoroughly; as no one had ever landed before, on any of the southern parts of this country.

On the 27th, at nine o'clock in the morning, we got under sail with a slight breeze at S.W. and working over to Pickersgill Harbour, entered it by a channel scarcely twice the width of the ship; and, in a small creek, moored head and stern, so near the shore as to reach it with a brow or stage, which nature had in a manner prepared for us in a large tree, whose end or top reached our gunwale. Wood, for fuel and other purposes, was here so convenient,

that our yards were locked in the branches of the trees ; and, about 100 yards from our stern, was a fine stream of fresh water. Thus situated, we began to clear places in the woods, in order to set up the astronomer's observatory, the forge to repair our iron work, tents for the sail-makers and coopers to repair the sails and casks in ; to land our empty casks, to fill water, and to cut down wood for fuel ; all of which were absolutely necessary occupations. We also began to brew beer from the branches or leaves of a tree, which much resembles the American black spruce. From the knowledge I had of this tree, and the similarity it bore to the spruce, I judged that with the addition of inspissated juice of wort and molasses, it would make a very wholesome beer, and supply the want of vegetables, which this place did not afford ; and the event proved that I was not mistaken.

Some of the officers, on the 28th, went up the bay in a small boat on a shooting party ; but discovering inhabitants, they returned before noon, to acquaint me therewith ; for hitherto we had not seen the least vestige of any. They had but just got aboard, when a canoe appeared off a point about a mile from us, and soon after returned behind the point out of sight, probably owing to a shower of rain which then fell : for it was no sooner over, than the canoe again appeared, and came within musket-shot of the ship. There were in it seven or eight people. They remained looking at us for some time, and then returned ; all the signs of friendship we could make, did not prevail on them to come nearer.

As we returned in the evening, we had a short interview with three of the natives, one man and two women. They were the first that discovered themselves on the N.E. point of Indian Island, named so on this occasion. We should have passed without seeing them, had not the man

hallooed to us. He stood with his club in his hand upon the point of a rock, and behind him, at the skirts of the wood, stood the two women, with each of them a spear. The man could not help discovering great signs of fear when we approached the rock with our boat. He, however, stood firm; nor did he move to take up some things we threw him ashore. At length I landed, went up, and embraced him; and presented him with such articles as I had about me, which at once dissipated his fears. Presently after, we were joined by the two women, the gentlemen that were with me, and some of the seamen. After this, we spent about half an hour in chit-chat, little understood on either side, in which the youngest of the two women bore by far the greatest share. This occasioned one of the seamen to say, that women did not want tongue in any part of the world. We presented them with fish and fowl which we had in our boat; but these they threw into the boat again, giving us to understand that such things they wanted not. Night approaching, obliged us to take leave of them; when the youngest of the two women, whose volubility of tongue exceeded every thing I ever met with, gave us a dance; but the man viewed us with great attention.

It rained all the 17th; but the 18th bringing fair and clear weather, in the evening, our friends the natives before-mentioned paid us another visit; and the next morning, the chief and his daughter were induced to come on board, while the others went out in the canoe fishing. Before they came on board, I showed them our goats and sheep that were on shore; which they viewed for a moment, with a kind of stupid insensibility. After this, I conducted them to the brow; but before the chief set his foot upon it to come into the ship, he took a small green branch in his hand, with which he struck the ship's side several



times, repeating a speech or prayer. When this was over, he threw the branch into the main chains, and came on board. This custom and manner of making peace, as it were, is practised by all the nations in the South Seas that I have seen. I took them both down into the cabin, where we were to breakfast. They sat at table with us, but would not taste any of our victuals. The chief wanted to know where we slept, and, indeed, to pry into every corner of the cabin, every part of which he viewed with some surprise. But it was not possible to fix his attention to any one thing a single moment. The works of art appeared to him in the same light as those of nature, and were as far removed beyond his comprehension. What seemed to strike them most was the number and strength of our decks, and other parts of the ship. The chief, before he came aboard, presented me with a piece of cloth and a green talc hatchet; to Mr. Forster he also gave a piece of cloth; and the girl gave another to Mr. Hodges. This custom of making presents, before they receive any, is common with the natives of the South Sea Isles; but I never saw it practised in New Zealand before. Of all the various articles I gave my guest, hatchets and spike-nails were the most valuable in his eyes. These he never would suffer to go out of his hands after he had once laid hold of them; whereas many other articles he would lay carelessly down anywhere, and at last leave them behind him. As soon as I could get quit of them, they were conducted into the gun-room, where I left them, and set out with two boats to examine the head of the bay; myself in one, accompanied by Mr. Forster and Mr. Hodges; and Lieutenant Cooper in the other. We proceeded up the south side; and, without meeting with anything remarkable, got to the head of the bay by sunset; where we took up our lodging for the night at the first

place we could land upon ; for the flats hindered us from getting quite to the head.

In the afternoon of the 21st, I went with a party out to the isles on seal-hunting. The surf ran so high that we could only land in one place, where we killed ten. These animals served us for three purposes ; the skins we made use of for our rigging ; the fat gave oil for our lamps ; and the flesh we ate. Their harslets are equal to that of a hog, and the flesh of some of them eats little inferior to beef-steaks. The following day nothing worthy of notice was done.

Having five geese left out of those we brought from the Cape of Good Hope, I went with them next morning to Goose Cove (named so on this account), where I left them. I chose this place for two reasons ; first, here are no inhabitants to disturb them ; and secondly, here being the most food. I make no doubt but that they will breed and may in time spread over the whole country, and fully answer my intention in leaving them. We spent the day shooting in and about the Cove, and returned aboard about ten o'clock in the evening. One of the party shot a white hern, which agreed exactly with Mr. Pennant's description, in his *British Zoology*, of the white herns that either now are, or were formerly, in England.

Having got the tents and every other article on board on the 28th, we only now waited for a wind to carry us out of the harbour, and through New Passage, the way I proposed to go to sea. Everything being removed from the shore, I set fire to the top-wood, &c., in order to dry a piece of the ground we had occupied, which, next morning, I dug up, and sowed with several sorts of garden seeds. The soil was such as did not promise success to the planter ; it was, however, the best we could find. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed with a light breeze, at S.W.

and stood up the bay for the new passage. Soon after we had got through, between the east end of Indian Island and the west end of Long Island, it fell calm, which obliged us to anchor in forty-three fathom water, under the north side of the latter island. In the morning of the 30th we weighed again with a light breeze at west, which, together with all our boats a-head towing, was hardly sufficient to stem the current; for, after struggling till six o'clock in the evening, and not getting more than five miles from our last anchoring-place, we anchored under the north side of Long Island, not more than one hundred yards from the shore, to which we fastened a hawser.

We found here five different kinds of ducks, some of which I do not recollect to have anywhere seen before: the largest are as big as a Muscovy duck, with a very beautiful variegated plumage; on which account we called it the painted duck: both male and female have a large white spot on each wing; the head and neck of the latter is white, but all the other feathers, as well as those on the head and neck of the drake, are of a dark variegated colour. The second sort have a brown plumage, with bright green feathers in their wings, and are about the size of an English tame duck. The third sort is the blue-grey duck, before mentioned, or the whistling duck, as some called them, from the whistling noise they made. What is most remarkable in these is, that the end of their beaks is soft, and of a skinny, or more properly, cartilaginous substance. The fourth sort is something bigger than teal, and all black except the drake, which has some white feathers in his wing. There are but few of this sort; and we saw them nowhere but in the river at the head of the bay. The last sort is a good deal like a teal, and very common, I am told, in England. The other fowls, whether



belonging to the sea or land, are the same that are to be found in common in other parts of this country, except the blue peterel, before mentioned, and the water or wood hens: these last, although they are numerous enough here, are so scarce in other parts, that I never saw but one. The reason may be, that, as they cannot fly, they inhabit the skirts of the woods, and feed on the sea-beach; and are so very tame, or foolish, as to stand and stare at us till we knocked them down with a stick. The natives may have in a manner wholly destroyed them; they are a sort of rail, about the size, and a good deal like a common dunghill hen; most of them are of a dirty black or dark brown colour, and eat very well in a pie or fricassee. Amongst the small birds I must not omit to particularise the wattle-bird, poy-bird, and fan-tail, on account of their singularity, especially as I find they are not mentioned in the narrative of my former voyage.

The wattle-bird, so called because it has two wattles under its beak, as large as those of a small dunghill cock, is larger, particularly in length, than an English blackbird; its bill is short and thick, and its feathers of a dark lead colour; the colour of its wattles is a dull yellow, almost an orange colour.

The poy-bird is less than the wattle-bird; the feathers of a fine mazarine blue, except those of its neck, which are of a most beautiful silver-grey, and two or three short white ones, which are on the pinion-joint of the wing: under its throat hang two little tufts of curled snow-white feathers, called its *poies*, which being the Otaheitean word for ear-rings, occasioned our giving that name to the bird, which is not more remarkable for the beauty of its plumage than for the sweetness of its note: the flesh is also most delicious, and was the greatest luxury the woods afforded us.

Of the fan-tail, there are different sorts ; but the body of the most remarkable one is scarcely larger than a good filbert, yet it spreads a tail of most beautiful plumage, full three-quarters of a semicircle of at least four or five inches radius.

## CHAPTER X

MAY TO AUGUST 1773

FROM DUSKY BAY TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE SOUND—WATER SPOUTS—THE ADVENTURE IS FOUND—VEGETABLES AS A PRECAUTION AGAINST SCURVY—DOMESTIC ANIMALS PUT ASHORE—NATIVES COME ABOARD WITH THEIR CHILDREN—THE WHITE SHIRT—TO SEA AGAIN—SICKNESS ABOARD THE ADVENTURE—NO SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

AFTER leaving Dusky Bay, as hath been already mentioned, I directed my course along shore for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where I expected to find the *Adventure*. In this passage we met with nothing remarkable or worthy of notice till the 17th, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Being then about three leagues to the westward of Cape Stephens, having a gentle gale at west by south, and clear weather, the wind at once flattened to a calm, the sky became suddenly obscured by dark, dense clouds, and seemed to forebode much wind. This occasioned us to clew up all our sails, and presently after, six water-spouts were seen. Four rose and spent themselves between us and the land; that is, to the S.W. of us; the fifth was without us; the sixth first appeared in the S.W. at the distance of two or three miles at least from us. Its progressive motion was to the N.E. not in a straight, but in a crooked line, and passed within fifty yards of our stern, without our feeling any of its effects. The diameter of the base of this spout I judged to be about fifty or sixty feet; that is, the sea within this space was much agitated, and foamed up to a great height. From this a tube or round body was formed, by which the water or air, or both, was carried in a spiral stream up to the clouds. Some of our people said they saw a bird in the one near us; which was whirled round like the fly of a jack as it was carried



upwards. During the time these spouts lasted, we had, now and then, light puffs of wind from all points of the compass; with some few slight showers of rain, which generally fell in large drops; and the weather continued thick and hazy for some hours after, with variable light breezes of wind. At length the wind fixed in its old point, and the sky resumed its former serenity. Some of these spouts appeared, at times, to be stationary; and, at other times, to have a quick, but very unequal, progressive motion, and always in a crooked line, sometimes one way, and sometimes another; so that, once or twice, we observed them to cross one another. From the ascending motion of the bird, and several other circumstances, it was very plain to us that these spouts were caused by whirlwinds, and that the water in them was violently hurried upwards, and did not descend from the clouds, as I have heard some assert. The first appearance of them is by the violent agitation and rising up of the water; and, presently after, you see a round column or tube forming from the clouds above, which apparently descends till it joins the agitated water below. I say apparently, because I believe it not to be so in reality, but that the tube is already formed from the agitated water below, and ascends, though at first it is either too small or too thin to be seen. When the tube is formed, or becomes visible, its apparent diameter increaseth, until it is pretty large; after that, it decreaseth, and, at last, it breaks or becomes invisible towards the lower part. Soon after the sea below resumes its natural state, and the tube is drawn, by little and little, up to the clouds, where it is dissipated. The same tube would sometimes have a vertical, and sometimes a crooked or inclined direction. I have been told that the firing of a gun will dissipate them, and I am very sorry I did not try the experiment, as we were near enough, and had a gun

ready for the purpose ; but, as soon as the danger was past, I thought no more about it.

In coming from Cape Farewell to Cape Stephens, I had a better view of the coast than I had when I passed in my former voyage, and observed that, about six leagues to the east of the first-mentioned cape, is a spacious bay, which is covered from the sea by a low point of land. This is, I believe, the same that Captain Tasman anchored in on the 18th of December, 1642, and by him called Murderer's Bay, by reason of some of his men being killed by the natives. Blind Bay, so named by me in my former voyage, lies to the S.E. of this, and seems to run a long way in-land to the south ; the sight in this direction not being bounded by any land. The wind having returned to the west, as already mentioned, we resumed our course to the east ; and at daylight the next morning (being the 18th), we appeared off Queen Charlotte's Sound, where we discovered our consort the *Adventure*, by the signals which she made to us ; an event which every one felt with an agreeable satisfaction. Both ships felt an uncommon joy at our meeting, after an absence of fourteen weeks.

Knowing that scurvy-grass, celery, and other vegetables were to be found in this sound, I went myself the morning after my arrival, at daybreak, to look for some, and returned on board at breakfast with a boat-load. Being now satisfied that enough was to be got for the crews of both ships, I gave orders that they should be boiled, with wheat and portable broth, every morning for breakfast ; and with pease and broth for dinner ; knowing from experience, that these vegetables, thus dressed, are extremely beneficial in removing all manner of scorbutic complaints.

On the 23d in the morning the ewe and ram I had with so much care and trouble brought to this place were both found dead ; occasioned, as was supposed, by eating some

poisonous plant. Thus my hopes of stocking this country with a breed of sheep were blasted in a moment. About noon we were visited, for the first time since I arrived, by some of the natives, who dined with us ; and it was not a little they devoured. In the evening they were dismissed with presents.

On the 2d of June, the ships being nearly ready to put to sea, I sent on shore, on the east side of the sound, two goats, male and female. The former was something more than a year old, but the latter was much older. She had two fine kids, some time before we arrived in Dusky Bay, which were killed by cold, as hath been already mentioned. Captain Furneaux also put on shore, in Cannibal Cove, a boar and two breeding sows ; so that we have reason to hope this country will, in time, be stocked with these animals, if they are not destroyed by the natives before they become wild ; for afterwards they will be in no danger. But as the natives knew nothing of their being left behind, it may be some time before they are discovered.

In our excursion to the east, we met with the largest seal I had ever seen. It was swimming on the surface of the water, and suffered us to come near enough to fire at it, but without effect ; for, after a chase of near an hour, we were obliged to leave it. By the size of this animal, it probably was a sea-lioness. It certainly bore much resemblance to the drawing in Lord Anson's voyage ; our seeing a sea-lion when we entered this sound, in my former voyage, increaseth the probability ; and I am of opinion they have their abode on some of the rocks which lie in the strait, or off Admiralty Bay.

On the 3rd, I sent a boat with the carpenter over to the east side of the sound, to cut down some spars, which we were in want of. As she was returning, she was chased by a large double canoe full of people ; but with what intent,



is not known. Early the next morning, some of our friends brought us a large supply of fish. One of them agreed to go away with us ; but, afterwards, that is when it came to the point, he changed his mind ; as did some others who had promised to go with the *Adventure*. It was even said, that some of them offered their children to sale. I however found that this was a mistake. The report first took its rise on board the *Adventure*, where they were utter strangers to their language and customs. It was very common for these people to bring their children with them, and present them to us, in expectation that we would make them presents ; this happened to me the preceding morning. A man brought his son, a boy about nine or ten years of age, and presented him to me. As the report of selling their children was then current, I thought at first that he wanted me to buy the boy. But at last I found that he wanted me to give him a white shirt, which I accordingly did. The boy was so fond of his new dress, that he went all over the ship presenting himself before every one that came in his way. This freedom used by him offended Old Will, the ram-goat, who gave him a butt with his horns, and knocked him backward on the deck. Will would have repeated his blow, had not some of the people come to the boy's assistance. The misfortune, however, seemed to him irreparable. The shirt was dirtied, and he was afraid to appear in the cabin before his father, until brought in by Mr. Forster ; when he told a very lamentable story against Goury, the great dog (for so they call all the quadrupeds we had aboard), nor could he be reconciled till his shirt was washed and dried. This story, though extremely trifling in itself, will show how liable we are to mistake these people's meaning, and to ascribe to them customs which they never knew even in thought.

About nine o'clock, a large double canoe, in which

were twenty or thirty people, appeared in sight. Our friends on board seemed much alarmed, telling us that these were their enemies; two of them, the one with a spear, and the other with a stone hatchet in his hand, mounted the arm-chests on the poop, and there, in a kind of bravado, bid those enemies defiance; while the others, who were on board, took to their canoe and went ashore, probably to secure the women and children. All I could do, could not prevail on the two that remained to call these strangers alongside; on the contrary, they were displeased at my doing it, and wanted me to fire upon them. The people in the canoe seemed to pay very little regard to those on board, but kept advancing slowly towards the ship; and, after performing the usual ceremonies, put alongside: after this the chief was easily prevailed upon to come on board, followed by many others, and peace was immediately established on all sides; indeed, it did not appear to me that these people had any intention to make war upon their brethren: at least, if they had, they were sensible enough to know that this was neither the time nor place for them to commit hostilities.

Both ships being now ready for sea, I gave Captain Furneaux an account in writing of the route I intended to take; which was to proceed to the east, between the latitudes of  $41^{\circ}$  and  $46^{\circ}$  south, until I arrived in the longitude of  $140^{\circ}$  or  $135^{\circ}$  west; then, provided no land was discovered, to proceed to Otaheite; from thence back to this place by the shortest route; and after taking in wood and water, to proceed to the south, and explore all the unknown parts of the sea between the meridian of New Zealand and Cape Horn; therefore, in case of separation before we reached Otaheite, I appointed that island for the place of rendezvous, where he was to wait till the 20th of August: if not joined by me before that time, he was then to make

the best of his way back to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he was to wait until the 20th of November; after which (if not joined by me), he was to put to sea, and carry into execution their Lordships' instructions.

Some may think it an extraordinary step in me to proceed on discoveries as far south as 46 degrees of latitude, in the very depth of winter. But though it must be owned that winter is by no means favourable for discoveries, it nevertheless appeared to me necessary that something should be done in it, in order to lessen the work I was upon, lest I should not be able to finish the discovery of the southern part of the South Pacific Ocean the ensuing summer. Besides, if I should discover any land in my route to the east, I should be ready to begin, with the summer, to explore it. Setting aside all these considerations, I had little to fear; having two good ships well provided, and healthy crews. Where then could I spend my time better? If I did nothing more, I was at least in hopes of being able to point out to posterity that these seas may be navigated, and that it is practicable to go on discoveries, even in the very depth of winter.

On the 7th of June, at four in the morning, the wind being more favourable, we unmoored, and at seven weighed and put to sea, with the *Adventure* in company.

On the 29th, I sent on board the *Adventure* to inquire into the state of her crew, having heard that they were sickly, and this I now found was but too true; her cook was dead, and about twenty of her best men were down in the scurvy and flux. At this time, *we* had only three men on the sick list, and only one of them attacked with the scurvy; several more, however, began to show symptoms of it, and were accordingly put upon the wort, marmalade of carrots, rob of lemons and oranges. I know not how to account for the scurvy raging more in the one ship than



the other, unless it was owing to the crew of the *Adventure* being more scorbutic when they arrived in New Zealand than we were, and to their eating few or no vegetables while they lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, partly for want of knowing the right sorts, and partly because it was a new diet, which alone was sufficient for seamen to reject it. To introduce any new article of food among seamen, let it be ever so much for their good, requires both the example and authority of a commander; without both of which, it will be dropped before the people are sensible of the benefits resulting from it: were it necessary, I could name fifty instances in support of this remark. Many of my people, officers as well as seamen, at first disliked celery, scurvy-grass, &c., being boiled in the peas and wheat; and some refused to eat it; but as this had no effect on my conduct, this obstinate kind of prejudice, by little and little wore off; they began to like it as well as the others, and now, I believe, there was hardly a man in the ship that did not attribute our being so free from the scurvy, to the beer and vegetables we made use of at New Zealand; after this, I seldom found it necessary to order any of my people to gether vegetables, whenever we came where any were to be got, and if scarce, happy was he who could lay hold on them first. I appointed one of my seamen to be cook of the *Adventure*, and wrote to Captain Furneaux, desiring him to make use of every method in his power to stop the spreading of the disease amongst his people, and proposing such as I thought might tend towards it; but I afterwards found all this unnecessary, as every method had been used they could think of.

As we had now got to the northward of Captain Cartaret's tracks, all hopes of discovering a continent vanished. Islands were all we were to expect to find, until we returned again to the south. I had now, that is on this and my

former voyage, crossed this ocean in the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$  and upwards, without meeting anything that did, in the least, induce me to think I should find what I was in search after. On the contrary, everything conspired to make me believe there is no southern continent, between the meridian of America and New Zealand.

## CHAPTER XI

AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1773

ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT OTAHEITE—A PERILOUS SITUATION—A VISIT FROM A NATIVE CHIEF—BACK TO HUAHEINE—DELIGHT OF OLD KING OREE—EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS—A YOUNG MAN NAMED OMAI GOES ABOARD THE ADVENTURE—HIS SUBSEQUENT RECEPTION, AND EXCELLENT BEHAVIOUR, IN ENGLAND.

ON the 15th, at five o'clock in the morning, we saw Osnaburg Island, or Maitea. Soon after I brought to, and waited for the *Adventure* to come up with us, to acquaint Captain Furneaux, that it was my intention to put into Oaiti-piha Bay, near the S.E. end of Otaheite, in order to get what refreshments we could from that part of the island, before we went down to Matavai. This done, we made sail, and at six in the evening saw the island bearing west. We continued to stand on till midnight, when we brought to, till four o'clock in the morning, and then made sail in for the land with a fine breeze at east.

At daybreak we found ourselves not more than half a league from the reef. The breeze now began to fail us, and at last fell to a calm. This made it necessary to hoist out our boats to tow the ships off; but all their efforts were not sufficient to keep them from being carried near the reef. A number of the inhabitants came off in canoes from different parts, bringing with them a little fish, a few cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, which they exchanged for nails, beads, &c. The most of them knew me again; and many inquired for Mr. Banks and others who were with me before; but not one asked for Tupia. As the calm continued, our situation became still more dangerous. We were, however, not without hopes of getting round the western point of the reef and into the bay, till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when we



came before an opening or break in the reef, through which I hoped to get with the ships. But on sending to examine it, I found there was not a sufficient depth of water; though it caused such an indraught of the tide of flood through it, as was very near proving fatal to the *Resolution*; for as soon as the ships got into this stream, they were carried with great impetuosity towards the reef. The moment I perceived this, I ordered one of the warping machines, which we had in readiness, to be carried out with about four hundred fathoms of rope; but it had not the least effect. The horrors of shipwreck now stared us in the face. We were not more than two cables' length from the breakers; and yet we could find no bottom to anchor, the only probable means we had left to save the ships. We however dropped an anchor; but, before it took hold, and brought us up, the ship was in less than three fathoms of water, and struck at every fall of the sea, which broke close under our stern in a dreadful surf, and threatened us every moment with shipwreck. The *Adventure*, very luckily, brought up close upon our bow without striking.

We presently carried out two kedge anchors, with hawsers to each. These found ground a little without the bower, but in what depth we never knew. By heaving upon them, and cutting away the bower anchor, we got the ship afloat, where we lay some time in the greatest anxiety, expecting every minute that either the kedges would come home, or the hawsers be cut in two by the rocks. At length the tide ceased to act in the same direction. I ordered all the boats to try to tow off the *Resolution*; and when I saw this was practicable, we hove up the two kedges. At that moment, a light air came off from the land, which so much assisted the boats, that we soon got clear of all danger. Then I ordered all the boats to assist the *Adventure*; but

before they reached her, she was under sail with the land-breeze, and soon after joined us, leaving behind her three anchors, her coasting cable, and two hawsers, which were never recovered. Thus we were once more safe at sea, after narrowly escaping being wrecked on the very island we, but a few days before, so ardently wished to be at. The calm, after bringing us into this dangerous situation, very fortunately continued; for had the sea-breeze, as is usual, set in, the *Resolution* must inevitably have been lost, and probably the *Adventure* too.

During the time we were in this critical situation, a number of the natives were on board and about the ships; they seemed to be insensible of our danger, showing not the least surprise, joy, or fear, when we were striking, and left us little before sunset, quite unconcerned.

In the evening I was informed that the chief, Waheatoua, was come into the neighbourhood and wanted to see me. In consequence of this information, I determined to wait one day longer in order to have an interview with this prince. Accordingly, early the next morning, I set out in company with Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forster, and several of the natives. We met the chief about a mile from the landing-place, towards which he was advancing to meet us; but as soon as he saw us he stopped, with his numerous train in the open air. I found him seated upon a stool, with a circle of people round him, and knew him at first sight, and he me; having seen each other several times in 1769. At that time he was but a boy, and went by the name of Tearee; but upon the death of his father Waheatoua, he took upon him that name.

After the first salutation was over, having seated me on the same stool with himself, and the other gentlemen on the ground by us, he began to inquire after several by name who were with me on my former voyage. He next

inquired how long I would stay ; and when I told him no longer than next day, he seemed sorry, asked me to stay some months, and at last came down to five days ; promising that, in that time, I should have hogs in plenty. But as I had been here already a week without so much as getting one, I could not put any faith in this promise. And yet, I believe, if I had staid, we should have fared much better than at Matavai. The present I made him consisted of a shirt, a sheet, a broad axe, spike-nails, knives, looking-glasses, medals, beads, &c. In return, he ordered a pretty good hog to be carried to our boat. We staid with him all the morning, during which time he never suffered me to go from his side, where he was seated. I was also seated on the same stool, which was carried from place to place by one of his attendants, whom we called stool-bearer. At length we took leave, in order to return on board to dinner ; after which we visited him again, and made him more presents ; and he in return gave Captain Furneaux and me each of us a hog. Some others were got by exchanges at the trading-places : so that we got, in the whole to-day, as much fresh pork as gave the crews of both ships a meal ; and this in consequence of our having this interview with the chief. The 24th, early in the morning, we put to sea with a light land-breeze.

As soon as we were clear of the bay, and our boats in, I directed my course for the Island of Huaheine, where I intended to touch. We made it the next day, and spent the night, making short boards under the north end of the island. At day-light in the morning of the 3rd, we made sail for the harbour of Owharre ; in which the *Resolution* anchored, about nine o'clock, in twenty-four fathoms' of water. As the wind blew out of the harbour, I chose to turn in by the southern channel, it being the



widest. The *Resolution* turned in very well, but the *Adventure*, missing stays, got ashore on the north side of the channel. I had the *Resolution's* launch in the water ready, in case of an accident of this kind, and sent her immediately to the *Adventure*. By this timely assistance, she was got off again, without receiving any damage. Several of the natives, by this time, had come off to us, bringing with them some of the productions of the island; and, as soon as the ships were both in safety, I landed with Captain Furneaux, and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. I distributed some presents among them; and presently after, they brought down hogs, fowls, dogs, and fruits, which they willingly exchanged for hatchets, nails, beads, &c. The like trade was soon opened on board the ships; so that we had a fair prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls; and, to people in our situation, this was no unwelcome thing. I learnt that my old friend Oree, chief of the isle, was still living, and that he was hastening to this part to see me.

Early next morning, Lieutenant Pickersgill sailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the south end of the isle. I also sent another trading party on shore near the ships, with which I went myself, to see that it was properly conducted at the first setting out, a very necessary point to be attended to. Everything being settled to my mind, I went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, to pay my first visit to Oree, who, I was told, was waiting for me. We were conducted to the place by one of the natives; but were not permitted to go out of our boat, till we had gone through some part of the following ceremony, usually performed at this isle, on such like occasions. The boat, in which we were desired to remain, being landed before the chief's house, that stood close to

the shore, five young plantain-trees, which are their emblems of peace, were brought on board separately, and with some ceremony. Three young pigs, with their ears ornamented with cocoa-nut fibres, accompanied the first three; and a dog, the fourth. Each had its particular name and purpose, rather too mysterious for us to understand. Lastly, the chief sent to me the inscription engraved on a small piece of pewter, which I left with him in July, 1769. It was in the same bag I had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, and a few beads, put in at the same time; which shows how well he had taken care of the whole. When they had made an end of putting into the boat the things just mentioned, our guide, who still remained with us, desired us to decorate three young plantain trees with looking-glasses, nails, medals, beads, &c. &c. This being accordingly done, we landed with these in our hands, and were conducted towards the chief, through the multitude; they making a lane, as it were, for us to pass through. We were made to sit down a few paces short of the chief, and our plantains were then taken from us, and, one by one, laid before him, as the others had been laid before us. One was for *Eatoua* (or God), the second for the *Earee* (or king), and the third for *Tiyo* (or friendship). This being done, I wanted to go to the king, but was told that he would come to me, which he accordingly did, fell upon my neck and embraced me. This was by no means ceremonious; the tears, which trickled plentifully down his venerable old cheeks, sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart. The whole ceremony being over, all his friends were introduced to us, to whom we made presents. Mine to the chief consisted of the most valuable articles I had; for I had regarded this man as a father. In return he gave me a hog and a quantity of cloth, promising that all our wants should

be supplied ; and it will soon appear how well he kept his word. At length we took leave, and returned on board ; and some time after Mr. Pickersgill returned also with fourteen hogs. Many more were got by exchanges on shore, and alongside the ships, besides fowls and fruit in abundance.

This good old chief made me a visit early in the morning on the 5th, together with some of his friends, bringing me a hog and some fruit, for which I made him a suitable return. He carried his kindness so far, as not to fail to send me every day, for my table, the very best of ready-dressed fruit, and roots, and in great plenty. Lieutenant Pickersgill being again sent with the two boats, in search of hogs, returned in the evening with twenty-eight ; and about four times that number were purchased on shore, and alongside the ships.

On the 7th, early in the morning, while the ships were unmooring, I went to pay my farewell visit to Oree, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster. We took with us, for a present, such things as were not only valuable but useful. I also left with him the inscription-plate he had before in keeping, and another small copper-plate, on which were engraved these words, "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's ships *Resolution* and *Adventure*, September, 1773," together with some medals, all put up in a bag ; of which the chief promised to take care, and to produce, to the first ship or ships that should arrive at the island. He then gave me a hog ; and, after trading for six or eight more, and loading the boat with fruit, we took leave, when the good old chief embraced me with tears in his eyes. At this interview, nothing was said about the remainder of Mr. Sparrman's clothes. I judged they were not brought in ; and, for that reason, did not mention them, lest I should give the chief pain about



things I did not give him time to recover ; for this was early in the morning.

During our short stay at the small but fertile isle of Huaheine, we procured to both ships not less than three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruits ; and, had we staid longer, might have got many more ; for none of these articles of refreshment were seemingly diminished, but appeared everywhere in as great abundance as ever.

Before we quitted this island, Captain Furneaux agreed to receive on board his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, where he had had some property, of which he had been dispossessed by the people of Bolabola. I at first rather wondered that Captain Furneaux would encumber himself with this man, who, in my opinion, was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of these happy islands, not having any advantage of birth, or acquired rank, nor being eminent in shape, figure, or complexion. For their people of the first rank are much fairer, and usually better behaved, and more intelligent, than the middling class of people, among whom Omai is to be ranked. I have, however, since my arrival in England, been convinced of my error ; for, excepting his complexion (which is undoubtedly of a deeper hue than that of the *earees* or gentry, who, as in other countries, live a more luxurious life, and are less exposed to the heat of the sun), I much doubt whether any other of the natives would have given more general satisfaction by his behaviour among us. Omai has most certainly a very good understanding, quick parts, and honest principles ; he has a natural good behaviour, which rendered him acceptable to the best company, and a proper degree of pride, which taught him to avoid the society of persons of inferior rank. He has passions of the same kind as other young men, but has judgment enough not to indulge them in an improper

excess. I do not imagine that he has any dislike to liquor ; and if he had fallen into company where the person who drank the most met with the most approbation, I have no doubt but that he would have endeavoured to gain the applause of those with whom he associated ; but, fortunately for him, he perceived that drinking was very little in use but among inferior people, and as he was very watchful into the manners and conduct of the persons of rank who honoured him with their protection, he was sober and modest ; and I never heard that, during the whole time of his stay in England, which was two years, he ever once was disguised with wine, or ever showed an inclination to go beyond the strictest rules of moderation.

Soon after his arrival in London, the Earl of Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty, introduced him to his Majesty at Kew, when he met with a most gracious reception, and imbibed the strongest impression of duty and gratitude to that great and amiable prince, which I am persuaded he will preserve to the latest moment of his life. During his stay among us he was caressed by many of the principal nobility, and did nothing to forfeit the esteem of any one of them ; but his principal patrons were the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander : the former probably thought it a duty of his office to protect and countenance an inhabitant of that hospitable country, where the wants and distresses of those in his department had been alleviated and supplied in the most ample manner ; the others, as a testimony of their gratitude for the generous reception they had met with during their residence in his country. It is to be observed, that though Omai lived in the midst of amusements during his residence in England, his return to his native country was always in his thoughts, and though he was not impatient to go, he expressed a satisfaction as the time

of his return approached. He embarked with me in the *Resolution*, when she was fitted out for another voyage, loaded with presents from his several friends, and full of gratitude for the kind reception and treatment he had experienced among us.



## CHAPTER XII

NOVEMBER 1773 TO MARCH 1774

SAILING SOUTH—THE DANGER FROM ICE ISLANDS AND LOOSE ICE—  
ICE ON RIGGING—SEA-BIRDS: WHERE DO THEY BREED?—  
THE GREAT SOUTHERN ICEFIELD—A STRANGE DIET—NO SOUTHERN  
CONTINENT.

AT eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th, we took our departure from Cape Palliser, and steered to the south, inclining to the east, having a favourable gale from the north-west and south-west: we daily saw some rock-weed, seals, Port-Egmont hens, albatrosses, pintadoes, and other peterels; and on the 2d of December, we saw a number of red-billed penguins, which remained about us for several days. At half an hour past eight o'clock the next evening, we reckoned ourselves antipodes to our friends in London, consequently as far removed from them as possible.

On the 8th, being in latitude  $55^{\circ} 39'$ , longitude  $178^{\circ} 53'$  W., we ceased to see penguins and seals, and concluded that those we had seen retired to the southern parts of New Zealand whenever it was necessary for them to be at land. We had now a strong gale at north-west, and a great swell from south-west. This swell we got as soon as the south point of New Zealand came in that direction; and as we had had no wind from that quarter the six preceding days, but, on the contrary, it had been at east, north, and north-west, I conclude there can be no land to the southward, under the meridian of New Zealand, but what must lie very far to the south. The two following days we had very stormy weather, sleet and snow, winds between the north and south-west. The 11th the storm abated, and the weather clearing up, we found the latitude to be  $61^{\circ} 15'$  S., longitude  $173^{\circ} 4'$  W. This fine weather

was of short duration: in the evening the wind increased to a strong gale at south-west, blew in squalls, attended with thick snow showers, hail, and sleet. The mercury in the thermometer fell to thirty-two, consequently the weather was very cold, and seemed to indicate that ice was not far off.

As we advanced to the S.E. by E., with a fresh gale at W., we found the number of ice islands increase fast upon us. Between noon and eight in the evening we saw but two, but before four o'clock in the morning of the 15th, we had passed seventeen, besides a quantity of loose ice which we ran through. At six o'clock we were obliged to haul to the north-east, in order to clear an immense field which lay to the south and south-east. The ice in most part of it lay close packed together; in other places there appeared partitions in the field, and a clear sea beyond it. However, I did not think it safe to venture through, as the wind would not permit us to return the same way that we must go in. Besides, as it blew strong, and the weather at times was exceedingly foggy, it was the more necessary for us to get clear of this loose ice, which is rather more dangerous than the great islands. It was not such ice as is usually found in bays or rivers, and near shore, but such as breaks off from the islands, and may not improperly be called parings of the large pieces, or the rubbish or fragments which fall off when the great islands break loose from the place where they are formed.

We had not stood long to the north-east before we found ourselves embayed by the ice, and were obliged to tack and stretch to the south-west, having the field or loose ice to the south, and many huge islands to the north. After standing two hours on this tack, the wind very luckily veering to the westward, we tacked, stretched to the

north, and soon got clear of all the loose ice, but not before we had received several hard knocks from the larger pieces, which, with all our care, we could not avoid. After clearing one danger, we still had another to encounter; the weather remained foggy, and many large islands lay in our way; so that we had to luff for one, and bear up for another. One we were very near falling aboard of, and if it had happened, this circumstance would never have been related. These difficulties, together with the improbability of finding land farther south, and the impossibility of exploring it on account of the ice, if we should find any, determined me to get more to the north.

The 22nd we steered east-south-east with a fresh gale at north, blowing in squalls, one of which took hold of the mizen top-sail, tore it all to rags, and rendered it for ever after useless. At six o'clock in the morning, the wind veering toward the west, our course was east-northerly.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 20'$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 12'$ , we fell in with such a quantity of field or loose ice, as covered the sea in the whole extent from south to east, and was so thick and close as wholly to obstruct our passage. At this time, the wind being pretty moderate, and the sea smooth, we brought to at the outer edge of the ice, hoisted out two boats, and sent them to take some up. In the mean time, we laid hold of several large pieces alongside, and got them on board with our tackle. The taking up ice proved such cold work, that it was eight o'clock by the time the boats had made two trips; when we hoisted them in, and made sail to the west, under double-reefed topsails and courses, with a strong gale at north, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell, making the ropes like wires, and the sails like boards or plates of metal. The sheaves also were frozen so fast in the blocks, that it required



our utmost efforts to get a topsail down and up; the cold so intense as hardly to be endured; the whole sea, in a manner covered with ice; a hard gale, and a thick fog.

Under all these unfavourable circumstances, it was natural for me to think of returning more to the north, seeing no probability of finding any land here, nor a possibility of getting farther south; and to have proceeded to the east, in this latitude, must have been wrong, not only on account of the ice, but because we must have left a vast space of sea to the north unexplored; a space of  $24^{\circ}$  of latitude, in which a large tract of land might have lain. Whether such a supposition was well grounded, could only be determined by visiting those parts.

While we were taking up ice, we got two of the antarctic peterels so often mentioned, by which our conjectures were confirmed of their being of the peterel tribe. They are about the size of a large pigeon; the feathers of the head, back, and part of the upper side of the wings, are of a light brown; the belly and under side of the wings, white; the tail-feathers are also white, but tipped with brown: at the same time, we got another new peterel, smaller than the former, and all of a dark-grey plumage. We remarked that these birds were fuller of feathers than any we had hitherto seen; such care has nature taken to clothe them suitably to the climate in which they live. At the same time we saw a few chocolate-coloured albatrosses; these, as well as the peterels above mentioned, we nowhere saw but among the ice; hence one may, with reason, conjecture that there is land to the south. If not, I must ask where these birds breed? A question which perhaps will never be determined; for hitherto we have found these lands, if any, quite inaccessible. Besides these birds, we saw a very large seal, which kept playing about us some time. One of our people who had been at

Greenland called it a sea-horse ; but every one else who saw it took it for what I have said. Since our first falling in with the ice, the mercury in the thermometer had been from 33 to 31 at noon-day.

On the 30th, at four o'clock in the morning, we perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the south, to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which we knew announced our approach to field-ice. Soon after, it was seen from the topmast head ; and at eight o'clock, we were close to its edge. It extended east and west, far beyond the reach of our sight. In the situation we were in, just the southern half of our horizon was illuminated, by the rays of light reflected from the ice, to a considerable height. Ninety-seven ice-hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside ; many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer, or northern edge of this immense field, was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together ; so that it was not possible for anything to enter it. This was about a mile broad ; within which was solid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat (except the hills), but seemed to increase in height, as you traced it to the south ; in which direction it extended beyond our sight. Such mountains of ice as these were, I believe, never seen in the Greenland seas ; at least, not that I ever heard or read of ; so that we cannot draw a comparison between the ice here, and there. It must be allowed that these prodigious ice mountains must add such additional weight to the ice-fields which inclose them, as cannot but make a great difference between the navigating this icy sea and that of Greenland.

I will not say it was impossible anywhere to get farther to the south ; but the attempting it would have been a

dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of. It was, indeed, my opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or, perhaps, joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time; and that it is here, that is, to the south of this parallel, where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind, or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which we always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice, some penguins were heard, but none seen; and but few other birds, or any other thing, that could induce us to think any land was near. And yet I think there must be some to the south behind this ice; but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. I, who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption; as it, in some measure, relieved us; at least, shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking, and standing back to the north.

I was now taken ill of the bilious colic, which was so violent as to confine me to my bed; so that the management of the ship was left to Mr. Cooper, the first officer, who conducted her very much to my satisfaction. It was several days before the most dangerous symptoms of my disorder were removed; during which time Mr. Patten, the surgeon, was to me not only a skilful physician, but an affectionate nurse; and I should ill deserve the care



he bestowed on me, if I did not make this public acknowledgment. When I began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to Mr. Forster fell a sacrifice to my tender stomach. We had no other fresh meat whatever on board ; and I could eat of this flesh, as well as broth made of it, when I could taste nothing else. Thus I received nourishment and strength from food which would have made most people in Europe sick ; so true it is, that necessity is governed by no law.

On the 28th, we began to see flying-fish, egg-birds, and noddies, which are said not to go above sixty or eighty leagues from land ; but of this we have no certainty. No one yet knows to what distance any of the oceanic birds go to sea ; for my own part, I do not believe there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on, in pointing out the vicinity of land.

I now came to a resolution to proceed to the north, and to spend the ensuing winter within the tropic, if I met with no employment before I came there. I was now well satisfied no continent was to be found in this ocean, but what must lie so far to the south as to be wholly inaccessible on account of ice ; and that if one should be found in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, it would be necessary to have the whole summer before us to explore it. On the other hand, upon a supposition that there is no land there, we undoubtedly might have reached the Cape of Good Hope by April, and so have put an end to the expedition, so far as it related to the finding a continent ; which indeed was the first object of the voyage. But for me at this time to have quitted this Southern Pacific Ocean, with a good ship expressly sent out on discoveries, a healthy crew, and not in want either of stores or of provisions, would have been betraying not only a want of perseverance but of judgment, in supposing the South Pacific Ocean

to have been so well explored, that nothing remained to be done in it. This, however, was not my opinion; for although I had proved there was no continent but what must lie far to the south, there remained, nevertheless, room for very large islands in places wholly unexamined: and many of those which were formerly discovered are but imperfectly explored, and their situations as imperfectly known. I was besides of opinion that my remaining in this sea some time longer would be productive of improvements in navigation and geography, as well as other sciences.

## CHAPTER XIII

MARCH TO MAY 1774

TO EASTER ISLAND—GIGANTIC STATUES ON THE ISLAND—RETURN TO OTAHEITE—A NAVAL REVIEW—THEFT AND PUNISHMENT—TO HUAHEINE ONCE MORE—OLD OREE THE CHIEF PAYS VISITS—PARTING WITH OREE.

AT eight o'clock in the morning on the 11th, land was seen, from the mast-head, bearing west, and at noon from the deck, extending from W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. to W. by S. about twelve leagues distant. I made no doubt that this was Davis's Land, or Easter Island. Here we spent the night, having alternately light airs and calms, till ten o'clock the next morning, when a breeze sprung up at west-south-west. With this we stretched in for the land; and, by the help of our glass, discovered people, and some of those colossian statues or idols mentioned by the authors of Roggewein's Voyage.

Early next morning, I sent Lieutenants Pickersgill and Edgcumbe with a party of men, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, to examine the country.

On the east side, near the sea, they met with three platforms of stone-work, or rather the ruins of them. On each had stood four of those large statues; but they were all fallen down from two of them, and also one from the third; all except one were broken by the fall, or in some measure defaced. Mr. Wales measured this one, and found it to be fifteen feet in length, and six feet broad over the shoulders. Each statue had on its head a large cylindric stone of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The one they measured, which was not by far the largest, was fifty-two inches high, and sixty-six in diameter.

Towards the eastern end of the island, they met with a well whose water was perfectly fresh, being considerably



above the level of the sea ; but it was dirty, owing to the filthiness or cleanliness (call it which you will) of the natives, who never go to drink without washing themselves all over as soon as they have done ; and if ever so many of them are together the first leaps right into the middle of the hole, drinks, and washes himself without the least ceremony ; after which another takes his place and does the same.

They observed that this side of the island was full of those gigantic statues so often mentioned ; some placed in groups on platforms of masonry ; others single, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep ; and these latter are in general much larger than the others. Having measured one which had fallen down, they found it very near twenty-seven feet long, and upwards of eight feet over the breast or shoulders ; and yet this appeared considerably short of the size of one they saw standing ; its shade, a little past two o'clock, being sufficient to shelter all the party, consisting of near thirty persons, from the rays of the sun. Here they stopped to dine ; after which they repared to a hill, from whence they saw all the east and north shores of the isle, on which they could not see either bay or creek fit even for a boat to land in, nor the least signs of fresh water. What the natives brought them here was real salt water ; but they observed that some of them drank pretty plentifully of it ; so far will necessity and custom get the better of nature ! On this account, they were obliged to return to the last-mentioned well ; where, after having quenched their thirst, they directed their route across the island towards the ship, as it was now four o'clock.

In a small hollow on the highest part of the island, they met with several such cylinders as are placed on the heads of the statues. Some of these appeared larger than any

they had seen before ; but it was now too late to stop to measure any of them. Mr. Wales, from whom I had this information, is of opinion that there had been a quarry here, whence these stones had formerly been dug, and that it would have been no difficult matter to roll them down the hill after they were formed. I think this a very reasonable conjecture, and have no doubt that it has been so. On the declivity of the mountain, towards the west, they met with another well ; but the water was a very strong mineral, had a thick green scum on the top, and stunk intolerably. Necessity, however, obliged some to drink of it ; but it soon made them so sick, that they threw it up the same way it went down.

We made the high land of Otaheite on the 21st, and at noon were about thirteen leagues east of Point Venus, for which we steered, and got pretty well in with it by sunset, when we shortened sail ; and, having spent the night, which was squally, with rain, standing on and off, at eight o'clock the next morning anchored in Matavia Bay in seven fathoms water. This was no sooner known to the natives than many of them made us a visit, and expressed not a little joy at seeing us again. As my chief reason for putting in at this place was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity to know the error of the watch by the known longitude, and to determine anew her rate of going, the first thing we did was to land his instruments, and to erect tents for the reception of a guard and such other people as it was necessary to have on shore.

In the morning of the 26th, I went down to Oparree, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a visit by appointment. As we drew near we observed a number of large canoes in motion ; but were surprised, when we arrived, to see upwards of three hundred ranged in order, for some distance along the shore,

all completely equipped and manned, besides a vast number of armed men upon the shore. So unexpected an armament collected together in our neighbourhood, in the space of one night, gave rise to various conjectures. We landed however in the midst of them, and were received by a vast multitude, many of them under arms, and many not. The cry of the latter was *Tiyo no Otoo*, and that of the former *Tiyo no Towha*. This chief, we afterwards learned, was admiral or commander of the fleet and troops present. The moment we landed, I was met by a chief whose name was Tee, uncle to the king, and one of his prime ministers, of whom I inquired for Otoo. Presently after we were met by Towha, who received me with great courtesy. He took me by the one hand, and Tee by the other; and, without my knowing where they intended to carry me, dragged me as it were through the crowd that was divided into two parties, both of which professed themselves my friends by crying out *Tiyo no Tootee*. One party wanted me to go to Otoo, and the other to remain with Towha. Coming to the usual place of audience, a mat was spread for me to sit down upon, and Tee left me to go and bring the king. Towha was unwilling I should sit down, partly insisting on my going with him; but, as I knew nothing of this chief, I refused to comply. Presently Tee returned, and wanted to conduct me to the king, taking hold of my hand for that purpose. This Towha opposed; so that, between the one party and the other, I was like to have been torn in pieces; and was obliged to desire Tee to desist, and leave me to the admiral and his party, who conducted me down to the fleet. As soon as we came before the admiral's vessel, we found two lines of armed men drawn up before her, to keep off the crowd, as I supposed, and to clear the way for me to go in. But, as I was determined not to go, I made the water, which



was between me and her, an excuse. This did not answer ; for a man immediately squatted himself down at my feet, offering to carry me ; and then I declared I would not go. That very moment Towha quitted me, without my seeing which way he went, nor would any one inform me. Turning myself round, I saw Tee, who, I believe, had never lost sight of me. Inquiring of him for the king, he told me he was gone into the country *Mataou*, and advised me to go to my boat ; which we accordingly did, as soon as we could get collected together ; for Mr. Edgcumbe was the only person that could keep with me ; the others being jostled about in the crowd in the same manner we had been.

When we got into our boat, we took our time to view this grand fleet. The vessels of war consisted of a hundred and sixty large double canoes very well equipped, manned, and armed. But I am not sure that they had their full complement of men or rowers ; I rather think not. The chiefs, and all those on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits ; that is, in a vast quantity of cloth, turbans, breastplates, and helmets. Some of the latter were of such a length as greatly to encumber the wearer. Indeed, their whole dress seemed to be ill calculated for the day of battle, and to be designed more for show than use. Be this as it may, it certainly added grandeur to the prospect, as they were so complaisant as to show themselves to the best advantage. The vessels were decorated with flags, streamers, &c. so that the whole made a grand and noble appearance, such as we had never seen before in this sea, and what no one would have expected. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones. The vessels were ranged close alongside of each other, with their heads ashore, and their stern to the sea ; the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were a hundred and seventy sail of smaller double

canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. These, we judged, were designed for transport, victuallers, &c.; for in the war canoes was no sort of provisions whatever. In these three hundred and thirty vessels, I guessed there were no less than seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men; a number which appears incredible, especially as we were told they all belonged to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopatea. In this computation, I allow to each war canoe forty men, troops and rowers, and to each of the small canoes eight. Most of the gentlemen who were with me, thought the number of men belonging to the war canoes exceeded this. It is certain that the most of them were fitted to row with more paddles than I have allowed them men; but at this time I think they were not complete. Tupia informed us, when I was first here, that the whole island raised only between six and seven thousand men, but we now saw two districts only raise that number; so that he must have taken his account from some old establishment, or else he only meant *Tatatous*, that is, warriors, or men trained from their infancy to arms, and did not include the rowers, and those necessary to navigate the other vessels. I should think he only spoke of this number as the standing troops or militia of the island, and not their whole force.

After we had well viewed this fleet, I wanted much to have seen the admiral, to have gone with him on board the war canoes. We inquired for him as we rowed past the fleet to no purpose. We put ashore and inquired, but the noise and crowd were so great that no one attended to what we said. At last Tee came, and whispered us in the ear, that Otoo was gone to Matavai, advising us to return thither, and not to land where we were. We accordingly proceeded for the ship, and this intelligence

and advice received from Tee gave rise to new conjectures. In short, we concluded that this Towha was some powerful disaffected chief, who was upon the point of making war against his sovereign ; for we could not imagine Otoo had any other reason for leaving Oparree in the manner he did.

We had not been long gone from Oparree before the whole fleet was in motion to the westward, from whence it came. When we got to Matavai, our friends there told us that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go against Eimeo, whose chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite, and assumed an independency. We were likewise informed, that Otoo neither was nor had been at Matavai ; so that we were still at a loss to know why he fled from Oparree. This occasioned another trip thither in the afternoon, where we found him ; and now understood that the reason of his not seeing me in the morning was, that some of his people having stolen a quantity of my clothes which were on shore washing, he was afraid I should demand restitution. He repeatedly asked me if I was not angry ; and when I assured him that I was not, and that they might keep what they had got, he was satisfied. Towha was alarmed partly on the same account. He thought I was displeased when I refused to go aboard his vessel ; and I was jealous of seeing such a force in our neighbourhood without being able to know anything of its design. Thus, by mistaking one another, I lost the opportunity of examining more narrowly into part of the naval force of this isle, and making myself better acquainted with its manœuvres. Such an opportunity may never occur ; as it was commanded by a brave, sensible, and intelligent chief, who would have satisfied us in all the questions we had thought proper to ask ; and, as the objects were before us, we could not well have misunderstood



each other. It happened unluckily that Oedidee was not with us in the morning ; for Tee, who was the only man we could depend on, served only to perplex us. Matters being thus cleared up, and mutual presents having passed between Otoo and me, we took leave and returned on board.

The night before, one of the natives attempting to steal a water-cask from the watering-place, he was caught in the act, sent on board, and put in irons ; in which situation Otoo and the other chiefs saw him. Having made known his crime to them, Otoo begged he might be set at liberty. This I refused, telling him, that since I punished my people, when they committed the least offence against his, it was but just this man should be punished also ; and as I knew he would not do it, I was resolved to do it myself. Accordingly, I ordered the man to be carried on shore to the tents, and having followed myself with Otoo, Towha, and others, I ordered the guard out under arms, and the man to be tied up to a post. Otoo, his sister, and some others begged hard for him ; Towha said not one word, but was very attentive to everything going forward. I expostulated with Otoo on the conduct of this man, and of his people in general ; telling him, that neither I, nor any of my people, took anything from them, without first paying for it ; enumerating the articles we gave in exchange for such and such things, and urging that it was wrong in them to steal from us who were their friends. I, moreover, told him, that the punishing this man would be the means of saving the lives of others of his people, by deterring them from committing crimes of this nature, in which some would certainly be shot dead, one time or another. With these and other arguments, which I believe he pretty well understood, he seemed satisfied, and only desired the man might not be *Matterou*

(or killed). I then ordered the crowd, which was very great, to be kept at a proper distance, and, in the presence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen of lashes with a cat-of-nine-tails, which he bore with great firmness, and was then set at liberty. After this, the natives were going away ; but Towha stepped forth, called them back, and harangued them for near half an hour. His speech consisted of short sentences, very little of which I understood ; but, from what we could gather, he recapitulated part of what I had said to Otoo ; named several advantages they had received from us ; condemned their present conduct, and recommended a different one for the future. The gracefulness of his action, and the attention with which he was heard, bespoke him a great orator. Otoo said not one word. As soon as Towha had ended his speech, I ordered the marines to go through their exercise, and to load and fire in volleys with ball ; and as they were very quick in their manœuvres, it is easier to conceive than to describe the amazement the natives were under the whole time, especially those who had not seen anything of the kind before.

At one o'clock in the afternoon on the 15th, we anchored in the north entrance of O'Wharre harbour, in the island of Huaheine ; hoisted out the boats, warped into a proper berth, and moored with the bower and kedge anchor, not quite a cable's length from the shore. While this was doing, several of the natives made us a visit, amongst whom was old Oree, the chief, who brought a hog, and some other articles, which he presented to me, with the usual ceremony.

In the morning of the 18th Oree came on board with a present of fruit, stayed dinner, and in the afternoon desired to see some great guns fired, shotted, which I complied with. The reason of his making this request was

his hearing, from Oedidee and our Otaheitan passengers, that we had so done at their island. The chief would have had us fire at the hills ; but I did not approve of that, lest the shot should fall short, and do some mischief. Besides, the effect was better seen in the water.

The 23d, wind easterly, as it had been ever since we left Otaheite. Early in the morning we unmoored, and at eight weighed and put to sea. The good old chief was the last man who went out of the ship. At parting I told him we should see each other no more ; at which he wept, and said, " Let your sons come ; we will treat them well." Oree is a good man, in the utmost sense of the word ; but many of the people are far from being of that disposition, and seem to take advantage of his old age, Teraderre, his grandson and heir, being yet but a youth.



## CHAPTER XIV

FEBRUARY TO JULY 1775

ROUND THE WORLD, AND NO SOUTHERN CONTINENT—OFFICERS' JOURNALS—TABLE BAY—EXCERPT FROM CAPTAIN FURNEAUX'S JOURNAL: THE ACCOUNT OF THE TRAGICAL LOSS OF A BOAT'S CREW, WRITTEN BY SECOND LIEUTENANT BURNEY.

THE LAST STAGE OF THE RUN TO ENGLAND—HOME AFTER THREE YEARS—ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SECOND VOYAGE, ESPECIALLY THE CONQUEST OF SCURVY.

I HAD now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to leave not the least room for the possibility of there being a continent, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. By twice visiting the tropical sea, I had not only settled the situation of some old discoveries, but made there many new ones, and left, I conceive, very little more to be done even in that part. Thus I flatter myself that the intention of the voyage has, in every respect, been fully answered; the southern hemisphere sufficiently explored; and a final end put to the search after a southern continent, which has, at times, engrossed the attention of some of the maritime powers for near two centuries past, and been a favourite theory amongst the geographers of all ages. That there may be a continent, or large tract of land, near the pole, I will not deny; on the contrary, I am of opinion there is; and it is probable that we have seen a part of it. The excessive cold, the many islands and vast floats of ice, all tend to prove that there must be land to the south; and for my persuasion that this southern land must lie, or extend, farthest to the north, opposite to the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, I have already assigned some reasons; to which I may add the greater degree of cold experienced by us in these seas,

than in the Southern Pacific Ocean under the same parallels of latitude.

I now, in pursuance of my instructions, demanded of the officers and petty officers the log-books and journals they had kept; which were delivered to me accordingly, and sealed up for the inspection of the Admiralty. I also enjoined them, and the whole crew, not to divulge where we had been, till they had their Lordships' permission so to do.

The next morning, being with us Wednesday, the 22nd, but with the people here Tuesday, the 21st, we anchored in Table Bay, where we found several Dutch ships; some French; and the *Ceres*, Captain Newte, an English East India Company's ship, from China, bound directly to England, by whom I sent a copy of the preceding parts of this journal, some charts, and other drawings, to the Admiralty. Before we had got well to an anchor, I despatched an officer to acquaint the governor with our arrival, and to request the necessary stores and refreshments, which were readily granted. As soon as the officer came back, we saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, which compliment was immediately returned with an equal number.

I now learnt that the *Adventure* had called here, on her return; and I found a letter from Captain Furneaux, acquainting me with the loss of his boat, and of ten of his best men, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. The captain, afterwards, on my arrival in England, put into my hands a complete narrative of his proceedings, from the time of our second and final separation.

*Excerpt from this narrative, being an account by Mr. Burney, Second Lieutenant, of the tragical loss of a boat's crew of ten:—*

“On the 18th we left the ship; and having a light

breeze in our favour, we soon got round Long Island, and within Long Point. I examined every cove on the larboard hand, as we went along, looking well all around with a spy-glass, which I took for that purpose. At half-past one we stopped at a beach, on the left-hand side going up East Bay, to boil some victuals, as we brought nothing but raw meat with us. Whilst we were cooking, I saw an Indian on the opposite shore running along a beach to the head of the bay. Our meat being drest, we got into the boat and put off; and, in a short time, arrived at the head of this reach, where we saw an Indian settlement. As we drew near, some of the Indians came down on the rocks, and waved for us to be gone; but seeing we disregarded them, they altered their notes. Here we found six large canoes hauled up on the beach, most of them double ones, and a great many people; though not so many as one might expect from the number of houses and size of the canoes. Leaving the boat's crew to guard the boat, I stepped ashore with the marines (the corporal and five men), and searched a good many of their houses; but found nothing to give me any suspicion. Three or four well-beaten paths led farther into the woods, where were many more houses; but the people continuing friendly, I thought it unnecessary to continue our search. Coming down to the beach, one of the Indians had brought a bundle of *hepatoos* (long spears), but seeing I looked very earnestly at him, he put them on the ground, and walked about with seeming unconcern. Some of the people appearing to be frightened, I gave a looking-glass to one, and a large nail to another. From this place the bay ran, as nearly as I could guess, N.N.W. a good mile, where it ended in a long sandy beach. I looked all round with the glass, but saw no boat, canoe, or sign of inhabitant. I therefore contented myself with



firing some guns, which I had done in every cove as I went along.

" I now kept close to the east shore, and came to another settlement, where the Indians invited us ashore. I inquired of them about the boat, but they pretended ignorance. They appeared very friendly here, and sold us some fish. Within an hour after we left this place, in a small beach adjoining to Grass Cove, we saw a very large double canoe just hauled up, with two men and a dog. The men, on seeing us, left their canoe, and ran up into the woods. This gave me reason to suspect I should here get tidings of the cutter. We went ashore, and searched the canoe, where we found one of the rullock-ports of the cutter, and some shoes, one of which was known to belong to Mr. Woodhouse, one of our midshipmen. One of the people, at the same time, brought me a piece of meat, which he took to be some of the salt meat belonging to the cutter's crew. On examining this, and smelling to it, I found it was fresh. Mr. Fannin (the master), who was with me, supposed it was dog's flesh, and I was of the same opinion; for I still doubted their being cannibals. But we were soon convinced by most horrid and undeniable proof. A great many baskets (about twenty) lying on the beach tied up, we cut them open. Some were full of roasted flesh, and some of fern-root, which serves them for bread. On farther search, we found more shoes and a hand, which we immediately knew to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of our fore-castle men, it being marked T. H. with an Otaheite tattow-instrument. I went with some of the people a little way up the woods, but saw nothing else. Coming down again, there was a round spot covered with fresh earth about four feet diameter, where something had been buried. Having no spade, we began to dig with a cutlass; and in the mean time

I launched the canoe with intent to destroy her ; but seeing a great smoke ascending over the nearest hill, I got all the people into the boat, and made what haste I could to be with them before sunset.

“ On opening the next bay, which was Grass Cove, we saw four canoes, one single and three double ones, and a great many people on the beach, who, on our approach, retreated to a small hill within a ship's length of the water-side, where they stood talking to us. A large fire was on the top of the high land beyond the woods, from whence, all the way down the hill, the place was thronged like a fair. As we came in, I ordered a musketoon to be fired at one of the canoes, suspecting they might be full of men lying down in the bottom ; for they were all afloat, but nobody was seen in them. The savages on the little hill still kept hallooing and making signs for us to land. However, as soon as we got close in, we all fired. The first volley did not seem to affect them much ; but on the second, they began to scramble away as fast as they could, some of them howling. We continued firing as long as we could see the glimpse of any of them through the bushes. Amongst the Indians were two very stout men, who never offered to move till they found themselves forsaken by their companions ; and then they marched away with great composure and deliberation ; their pride not suffering them to run. One of them, however, got a fall, and either lay there or crawled off on all-fours. The other got clear without any apparent hurt. I then landed with the marines, and Mr. Fannin staid to guard the boat.

“ On the beach were two bundles of celery, which had been gathered for loading the cutter. A broken oar was struck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes ; a proof that the attack had been made here. I then searched all along at the back of the beach to see if

the cutter was there. We found no boat, but instead of her, such a shocking scene of carnage and barbarity as can never be mentioned or thought of but with horror; for the heads, hearts, and lungs of several of our people were seen lying on the beach, and, at a little distance, the dogs gnawing their entrails. Whilst we remained almost stupified on the spot, Mr. Fannin called to us that he heard the savages gathering together in the woods; on which I returned to the boat, and hauling alongside the canoes, we demolished three of them. Whilst this was transacting, the fire on the top of the hill disappeared; and we could hear the Indians in the woods at high words: I suppose quarrelling whether or no they should attack us, and try to save their canoes. It now grew dark: I therefore just stepped out, and looked once more behind the beach, to see if the cutter had been hauled up in the bushes; but seeing nothing of her, returned and put off. Our whole force would have been barely sufficient to have gone up the hill, and to have ventured with half (for half must have been left to guard the boat) would have been fool-hardiness.

"As we opened the upper part of the Sound, we saw a very large fire about three or four miles higher up, which formed a complete oval, reaching from the top of a hill down almost to the water-side, the middle space being enclosed all round by the fire, like a hedge. I consulted with Mr. Fannin, and we were both of opinion that we could expect to reap no other advantage than the poor satisfaction of killing some more of the savages. At leaving Grass Cove, we had fired a general volley towards where we heard the Indians talking; but by going in and out of the boat, the arms had got wet, and four pieces missed fire. What was still worse, it began to rain; our ammunition was more than half expended, and we left six large canoes behind us in one place. With so many disadvantages,



I did not think it worth while to proceed, where nothing could be hoped for but revenge. Coming between two round islands, situated to the southward of East Bay, we imagined we heard somebody calling; we lay on our oars and listened, but heard no more of it; we hallooed several times, but to little purpose; the poor souls were far enough out of hearing; and, indeed, I think it some comfort to reflect that, in all probability, every man of them must have been killed on the spot."

At four in the morning of the 19th I steered for the west end of St. George's Island in the Azores. As soon as we had passed it, I steered E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. for the Island of Tercera; and after having run thirteen leagues, we were not more than one league from the west end. I now edged away for the north side, with a view of ranging the coast to the eastern point, in order to ascertain the length of the island; but the weather coming on very thick and hazy, and night approaching, I gave up the design, and proceeded with all expedition for England. On the 29th July, 1775, we made the land near Plymouth. The next morning we anchored at Spithead; and the same day I landed at Portsmouth, and set out for London, in company with Messrs. Wales, Forsters, and Hodges.

Having been absent from England three years and eighteen days, in which time, and under all changes of climate, I lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness, it may not be amiss, at the conclusion of this journal, to enumerate the several causes to which, under the care of Providence, I conceive this uncommon good state of health experienced by my people was owing.

We were furnished with a quantity of malt, of which was made *Sweet Wort*. To such of the men as showed the

least symptoms of the scurvy, and also to such as were thought to be threatened with that disorder, this was given from one to two or three pints a day each man.

*Sour Krout*, of which we had a large quantity, is not only a wholesome vegetable food, but, in my judgment, highly antiscorbutic; and it spoils not by keeping. *Portable Broth* was another great article, of which we had a large supply. *Rob of Lemon* and *Orange* is an antiscorbutic we were not without. The surgeon made use of it in many cases, with great success. Amongst the articles of victualling, we were supplied with *Sugar* in the room of *Oil*, and with *Wheat* for a part of our *Oatmeal*; and were certainly gainers by the exchange. Sugar, I apprehend, is a very good antiscorbutic; whereas oil (such as the navy is usually supplied with), I am of opinion, has the contrary effect.

The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and had generally dry clothes to shift themselves, when they happened to get wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little to wet weather as possible. Proper methods were used to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, clothes, &c., constantly clean and dry. Equal care was taken to keep the ship clean and dry betwixt decks. Once or twice a week she was aired with fires; and when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder mixed with vinegar or water. I had also frequently a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which was of great use in purifying the air in the lower parts of the ship. To this and to cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid; the least neglect occasions a putrid and disagreeable smell below, which nothing but fires will

remove. Proper attention was paid to the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean. The fat which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, I never suffered to be given to the people ; being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy.

I was careful to take in water wherever it was to be got, even though we did not want it. Because I looked upon fresh water from the shore to be more wholesome than that which has been kept some time on board a ship. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always plenty for every necessary purpose. Navigators in general cannot, indeed, expect, nor would they wish to meet with, such advantages in this respect, as fell to my lot. The nature of our voyage carried us into very high latitudes. But the hardships and dangers inseparable from that situation, were, in some degree, compensated by the singular felicity we enjoyed, of extracting inexhaustible supplies of fresh water from an ocean strewn with ice. We came to few places where either the art of man or the bounty of nature had not provided some sort of refreshment or other, either in the animal or vegetable way. It was my first care to procure whatever of any kind could be met with, by every means in my power ; and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority ; but the benefits arising from refreshments of any kind soon became so obvious, that I had little occasion to recommend the one or to exert the other.

It doth not become me to say how far the principal objects of our voyage had been obtained. Though it hath not abounded with remarkable events, nor been diversified by sudden transitions of fortune ; though my relation of it has been more employed in tracing our course by sea, than in recording our operations on shore ; this, perhaps, is a circumstance from which the curious reader may



infer, that the purposes for which we were sent into the southern hemisphere were diligently and effectually pursued. Had we found out a continent there, we might have been better enabled to gratify curiosity; but we hope our not having found it, after all our persevering searches, will leave less room for future speculation about unknown worlds remaining to be explored. But, whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a southern continent shall have ceased to engage the attention, and to divide the judgment of philosophers.

# THIRD VOYAGE

TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS  
*RESOLUTION* AND *DISCOVERY* IN THE YEARS  
1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 (AND 1780)

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## CHAPTER XV

FEBRUARY 1776 TO JANUARY 1777

PREPARATIONS FOR THE THIRD VOYAGE—OMAI'S BEHAVIOUR ON EMBARKING—TENERIFFE—DISCOMFORTS OF WET WEATHER—THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—CHRISTMAS ON KERGUELEN'S LAND—AN INSCRIPTION IN A BOTTLE—PASSAGE FROM KERGUELEN TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—FIRST DEALINGS WITH THE NATIVES.

HAVING, on the 9th day of February, 1776, received a commission to command his Majesty's sloop the *Resolution*, I went on board the next day, hoisted the pendant, and began to enter men. At the same time, the *Discovery*, of three hundred tons' burthen, was purchased into the service, and the command of her given to Captain Clerke, who had been my second Lieutenant on board the *Resolution*, in my second voyage round the world, from which we had lately returned. These two ships were, at this time, in the dock at Deptford, under the hands of the shipwrights, being ordered to be equipped to make farther discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, under my direction.

On the 9th of March the *Resolution* was hauled out of dock into the river, where we completed our rigging, and took on board the stores and provisions requisite for a voyage of such duration. Both ships, indeed, were supplied with as much of every necessary article as we could conveniently stow, and with the best of every kind that could be procured. And, besides this, everything that had been found, by the experience acquired during our former extensive voyages, to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was supplied in abundance.

With the benevolent view of conveying some permanent benefit to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other islands in the Pacific Ocean, whom we might happen to visit, his Majesty having commanded some useful animals

to be carried out, we took on board, on the 10th, a bull, two cows, with their calves, and some sheep, with hay and corn for their subsistence; intending to add to these other useful animals, when I should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. I was also, from the same laudable motives, furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden-seeds as could not fail to be a valuable present to our newly-discovered islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. Many other articles, calculated to improve the condition of our friends in the other hemisphere in various ways, were, at the same time, delivered to us by order of the Board of Admiralty. And both ships were provided with a proper assortment of iron tools and trinkets, as the means of enabling us to traffic and to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of such new countries as we might be fortunate enough to meet with.

The same humane attention was extended to our own wants. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for our crews; and nothing was denied to us that could be supposed in the least conducive to health or even to convenience. Nor did the extraordinary care of those at the head of the naval department stop here. They were equally solicitous to afford us every assistance towards rendering our voyage of public utility. Accordingly, we received on board, next day, several astronomical and nautical instruments, which the Board of Longitude intrusted to me and to Mr. King, my second lieutenant; we having engaged to that board to make all the necessary observations during the voyage, for the improvement of astronomy and navigation; and, by our joint labours, to supply the place of a professed observator. Such a person had been originally intended to be sent out in my ship.

Every preparation being now completed, I received an order to proceed to Plymouth, and to take the *Discovery* under my command. I accordingly gave Captain Clerke two orders; one to put himself under my command, and the other to carry his ship round to Plymouth. On the 15th, the *Resolution* sailed from Long Reach, with the *Discovery* in company, and the same evening they anchored at the Nore. Next day the *Discovery* proceeded, in obedience to my order; but the *Resolution* was ordered to remain at the Nore till I should join her, being at this time in London.

As we were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Islands, in our way to the intended scene of our fresh operations, it had been determined not to omit this opportunity (the only one ever likely to happen) of carrying Omai back to his native country. Accordingly, everything being ready for our departure, he and I set out together from London on the 24th, at six o'clock in the morning. We reached Chatham between ten and eleven o'clock; and after dining with Commissioner Proby, he very obligingly ordered his yacht to carry us to Sheerness, where my boat was waiting to take us on board. Omai left London with a mixture of regret and satisfaction. When we talked about England and about those who, during his stay, had honoured him with their protection or friendship, I could observe that his spirits were sensibly affected, and that it was with difficulty he could refrain from tears. But the instant the conversation turned to his own islands, his eyes began to sparkle with joy. He was deeply impressed with a sense of the good treatment he had met with in England, and entertained the highest ideas of the country and of the people. But the pleasing prospect he now had before him of returning home, loaded with what he well knew would be esteemed invaluable treasures there;



and the flattering hope which the possession of these gave him, of attaining to a distinguished superiority amongst his countrymen, were considerations which operated by degrees to suppress every uneasy sensation; and he seemed to be quite happy when he got on board the ship. He was furnished by his Majesty with an ample provision of every article which, during our intercourse with his country, we had observed to be in any estimation there, either as useful or as ornamental. He had, besides, received many presents of the same nature from Lord Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and several other gentlemen and ladies of his acquaintance. In short, every method had been employed, both during his abode in England and at his departure, to make him the instrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific Ocean the most exalted opinion of the greatness and generosity of the British nation.

At four in the afternoon of the 31st, we saw Teneriffe, and steered for the eastern part. At nine, being near it, we hauled up, and stood off and on during the night. At daylight on the morning of the 1st of August, we sailed round the east Point of the island; and, about eight o'clock, anchored on the south-east side of it, in the road of Santa Cruz, in twenty-three fathoms water.

Having completed our water, and got on board every other thing we wanted at Teneriffe, we weighed anchor on the 4th of August, and proceeded on our voyage, with a fine gale at north-east.

The weather was generally dark and gloomy, with frequent rains, which enabled us to save as much water as filled most of our empty casks. These rains, and the close sultry weather accompanying them, too often bring on sickness in this passage. Every bad consequence, at least, is to be apprehended from them; and commanders of

ships cannot be too much upon their guard, by purifying the air between-decks with fires and smoke, and by obliging the people to dry their clothes at every opportunity. These precautions were constantly observed on board the *Resolution* and *Discovery*; and we certainly profited by them, for we had now fewer sick than on either of my former voyages. We had, however, the mortification to find our ship exceedingly leaky in all her upper works. The hot and sultry weather we had just passed through, had opened her seams, which had been badly caulked at first, so wide, that they admitted the rain-water through as it fell. There was hardly a man that could lie dry in his bed; and the officers in the gun-room were all driven out of their cabins, by the water that came through the sides. The sails in the sail-room got wet; and before we had weather to dry them, many of them were much damaged, and a great expense of canvas and of time became necessary to make them in some degree serviceable. Having experienced the same defect in our sail-rooms on my late voyage, it had been represented to the yard-officers, who undertook to remove it. But it did not appear to me that anything had been done to remedy the complaints. To repair these defects the caulkers were set to work, as soon as we got into fair settled weather, to caulk the decks and inside weather works of the ship; for I would not trust them over the sides while we were at sea.

This calm weather was succeeded by a fresh gale from the N.W., which lasted two days. Then we had again variable light airs for about twenty-four hours; when the N.W. wind returned, and blew with such strength, that on the 17th we had sight of the Cape of Good Hope; and the next day anchored in Table Bay, in four fathoms water, with the church bearing S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S., and Green Point N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W.

Nothing remarkable happened till the evening of the 31st, when it came on to blow excessively hard at S.E., and continued for three days; during which time there was no communication between the ship and the shore. The *Resolution* was the only ship in the bay that rode out the gale without dragging her anchors. We felt its effects as sensibly on shore. Our tents and observatory were torn to pieces; and our astronomical quadrant narrowly escaped irreparable damage. On the 3rd of November the storm ceased, and the next day we resumed our different employments.

We spent Christmas day on an island named Kerguelen's Land, between the Cape of Good Hope and New Holland.

The morning of the 26th proved foggy, with rain. However, we went to work to fill water, and to cut grass for our cattle, which we found in small spots near the head of the harbour. The rain which fell swelled all the rivulets to such a degree, that the sides of the hills bounding the harbour seemed to be covered with a sheet of water. For the rain, as it fell, ran into the fissures and crags of the rocks that composed the interior parts of the hills, and was precipitated down their sides in prodigious torrents.

The people having wrought hard the two preceding days, and nearly completed our water, which we filled from a brook at the left hand corner of the beach, I allowed them the 27th, as a day of rest, to celebrate Christmas. Upon this indulgence, many of them went on shore and made excursions, in different directions, into the country, which they found barren and desolate in the highest degree. In the evening, one of them brought to me a quart-bottle which he had found, fastened with some wire to a projecting rock on the north side of the harbour. This bottle contained a piece of parchment, on which was written the following inscription:—



LUDOVICO XV. GALLIARUM  
REGE, ET D. DE BOYNES  
REGI A SECRETIS AD RES  
MARITIMAS ANNIS 1772 ET  
1773.

From this inscription, it is clear, that we were not the first Europeans who had been in this harbour. I supposed it to be left by Monsieur de Boisguchenneu, who went on shore in a boat, on the 13th of February, 1772, the same day that Monsieur de Kerguelen discovered this land; as appears by a note in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, published the following year.

As a memorial of our having been in this harbour, I wrote on the other side of the parchment,

NAVES RESOLUTION  
ET DISCOVERY  
DE REGE MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ  
DECEMBRIS, 1776.

I then put it again into a bottle, together with a silver two-penny piece of 1772; and having covered the mouth of the bottle with a leaden cap, I placed it, the next morning, in a pile of stones erected for the purpose, upon a little eminence on the north shore of the harbour, and near to the place where it was first found; in which position it cannot escape the notice of any European, whom chance or design may bring into this port. Here I displayed the British flag, and named the place *Christmas Harbour*, from our having arrived in it on that festival.

After leaving Kerguelen's Land, I steered E. by N., intending, in obedience to my instructions, to touch next at New Zealand, to recruit our water, to take in wood, and to make hay for the cattle.

On the 24th January at three o'clock in the morning,

we discovered the coast of Van Diemen's Land, bearing N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.

Soon after we had sight of land, the westerly winds left us, and were succeeded by variable light airs and alternate calms till the 26th at noon. At that time a breeze sprung up and freshened at south-east, which put it in my power to carry into execution the design I had, upon due consideration, formed, of carrying the ships into Adventure Bay, where I might expect to get a supply of wood, and of grass for the cattle; of both which articles we should, as I now found, have been in great want, if I had waited till our arrival in New Zealand. We therefore stood for the bay, and anchored in it at four o'clock in the afternoon, in twelve fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and ooze. Penguin Island, which lies close to the east point of the bay, bore N.  $84^{\circ}$  E.; the southernmost point of Maria's Islands bore N.  $76^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  E.; and Cape Frederic Henry, or the north point of the bay, bore N.  $33^{\circ}$  E. Our distance from the nearest shore was about three-quarters of a mile.

As soon as we had anchored, I ordered the boats to be hoisted out. In one of them I went myself, to look for the most commodious place for furnishing ourselves with the necessary supplies; and Captain Clerke went in his boat upon the same service. Wood and water we found in plenty, and in situations convenient enough, especially the first: but grass, of which we stood most in need, was scarce, and also very coarse. Necessity, however, obliged us to take such as we could get.

Next morning early, I sent Lieutenant King to the east side of the bay, with two parties; one to cut wood, and the other to cut grass, under the protection of the marines, whom I judged it prudent to land as a guard. For although, as yet, none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that some were in our neighbourhood, as we had

seen columns of smoke from the time of our approaching the coast, and some now was observed at no great distance up in the woods. I also sent the launch for water, and afterwards visited all the parties myself. In the evening we drew the seine at the head of the bay, and, at one haul, caught a great quantity of fish. We should have got many more, had not the net broken in drawing it ashore : most of them were of that sort known to seamen by the name of elephant fish. After this, every one repaired on board with what wood and grass we had cut, that we might be ready to sail whenever the wind should serve. This not happening next morning, the people were sent on shore again, on the same duty as the day before. I also employed the carpenter, with part of his crew, to cut some spars for the use of the ship ; and despatched Mr. Roberts, one of the mates, in a small boat, to survey the bay.

In the afternoon, we were agreeably surprised, at the place where we were cutting wood, with a visit from some of the natives ; eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable ; for none of them had any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments ; unless we consider as such, and as a proof of their love of finery, some large punctures or ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight, and others in curved lines. They were of the common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea ; but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips nor flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes ; and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair



and beards smeared with a red ointment; and some had their faces also painted with the same composition.

They received every present we made to them without the least appearance of satisfaction. When some bread was given, as soon as they understood that it was to be eaten, they either returned it, or threw it away, without even tasting it. They also refused some elephant fish, both raw and dressed, which we offered to them. But upon giving some birds to them, they did not return these, and easily made us comprehend that they were fond of such food. I had brought two pigs ashore, with a view to leave them in the woods. The instant these came within their reach, they seized them, as a dog would have done, by the ears, and were for carrying them off immediately; with no other intention, as we could perceive, but to kill them. Being desirous of knowing the use of the stick which one of our visitors carried in his hand, I made signs to them to show me; and so far succeeded, that one of them set up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the distance of about twenty yards. But we had little reason to commend his dexterity; for after repeated trials, he was still very wide from the object. Omai, to show them how much superior our weapons were to theirs, then fired his musket at it; which alarmed them so much, that notwithstanding all we could do or say, they ran instantly into the woods. One of them was so frightened, that he let drop an axe and two knives, that had been given to him. From us, however, they went to the place where some of the *Discovery's* people were employed in taking water into their boat. The officer of that party, not knowing that they had paid us so friendly a visit, nor what their intent might be, fired a musket in the air, which sent them off with the greatest precipitation. Thus ended our first interview with the natives.

## CHAPTER XVI

FEBRUARY TO MARCH 1777

PASSAGE FROM ADVENTURE BAY, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, TO NEW ZEALAND—SHYNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE SOUND—SUPPLIES FROM THE NATIVES—INQUIRY INTO THE FATE OF THE BOAT'S CREW—BEHAVIOUR OF THE CHIEF KAHOORA—OMAI TAKES A FRIEND ON BOARD, WITH A BOY SERVANT—THEIR HOMESICKNESS—NEW ZEALANDERS LIVE IN DREAD OF ONE ANOTHER—THEN FISHING—NASTY FEEDING HABITS—RUBBING NOSES.

AT eight o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze springing up at W., we weighed anchor, and put to sea from Adventure Bay. Soon after, the wind veered to the southward, and increased to a perfect storm. Its fury abated in the evening, when it veered to the E. and N.E. This gale was indicated by the barometer, for the wind no sooner began to blow than the mercury in the tube began to fall. Another remarkable thing attended the coming on of this wind, which was very faint at first. It brought with it a degree of heat that was almost intolerable. The mercury in the thermometer rose, as it were, instantaneously, from about  $70^{\circ}$  to near  $90^{\circ}$ . This heat was of so short a continuance, that it seemed to be wafted away before the breeze that brought it; so that some on board did not perceive it.

We pursued our course to the eastward, without meeting with anything worthy of note till the night between the 6th and 7th of February, when a marine belonging to the *Discovery* fell overboard, and was never seen afterward.

I now steered for Stephen's Island, which we came up with at nine o'clock at night; and at ten next morning, anchored in our old station, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Unwilling to lose any time, our operations commenced that very afternoon, when we landed a number of empty

water-casks, and began to clear a place where we might set up the two observatories, and tents for the reception of a guard, and of such of our people whose business might make it necessary for them to remain on shore. We had not been long at anchor before several canoes, filled with natives, came alongside of the ships; but very few of them would venture on board; which appeared the more extraordinary, as I was well known to them all. There was one man in particular amongst them, whom I had treated with remarkable kindness, during the whole of my stay when I was last here. Yet now, neither professions of friendship, nor presents, could prevail upon him to come into the ship. This shyness was to be accounted for only upon this supposition, that they were apprehensive we had revisited their country, in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people. Seeing Omai on board my ship now, whom they must have remembered to have seen on board the *Adventure*, when the melancholy affair happened, and whose first conversation with them, as they approached, generally turned on that subject, they must be well assured that I was no longer a stranger to it. I thought it necessary, therefore, to use every endeavour to assure them of the continuance of my friendship, and that I should not disturb them on that account. I do not know whether this had any weight with them; but certain it is that they very soon laid aside all manner of restraint and distrust.

On the 13th we set up two tents, one from each ship, on the same spot where we had pitched them formerly. The observatories were at the same time erected; and Messrs. King and Bayly began their operations immediately, to find the rate of the time-keeper, and to make other observations. The remainder of the empty water-casks were also sent on shore, with the cooper to trim, and a



sufficient number of sailors to fill them. Two men were appointed to brew spruce-beer; and the carpenter and his crew were ordered to cut wood. A boat, with a party of men, under the direction of one of the mates, was sent to collect grass for our cattle; and the people that remained on board were employed in refitting the ship, and arranging the provisions. In this manner, we were all profitably busied during our stay.

The advantage we received from the natives coming to live with us, was not inconsiderable. For, every day, when the weather would permit, some of them went out to catch fish; and we generally got, by exchanges, a good share of the produce of their labours. This supply, and what our own nets and lines afforded us, were so ample, that we seldom were in want of fish. Nor was there any deficiency of other refreshments. Celery, scurvy-grass, and portable soup, were boiled with the peas and wheat, for both ships' companies, every day during our whole stay; and they had spruce-beer for their drink. So that, if any of our people had contracted the seeds of the scurvy, such a regimen soon removed them. But the truth is, when we arrived here, there were only two invalids (and these on board the *Resolution*) upon the sick lists in both ships.

Amongst our occasional visitors was a chief named Kahoora, who, as I was informed, headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahoora by what I heard from many of his countrymen, he seemed to be more feared than beloved amongst them. Not satisfied with telling me that he was a very bad man, some of them even importuned me to kill him; and I believe they were not a little surprised that I did not listen to them; for, according to their

ideas of equity, this ought to have been done. But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns, applied to me to destroy the other.

On the 16th, at daybreak, I set out with a party of men, in five boats, to collect food for our cattle. Captain Clerke, and several of the officers, Omai, and two of the natives, accompanied me. We proceeded about three leagues up the Sound, and then landed on the east side, at a place where I had formerly been. Here we cut as much grass as loaded the two launches. As we returned down the Sound, we visited Grass Cove, the memorable scene of the massacre of Captain Furneaux's people.

Whilst we were at this place, our curiosity prompted us to inquire into the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of our countrymen; and Omai was made use of as our interpreter for this purpose. The natives present, answered all the questions that were put to them on the subject, without reserve, and like men who are under no dread of punishment for a crime of which they are not guilty. For we already knew that none of them had been concerned in the unhappy transaction. They told us, that while our people were sitting at dinner, surrounded by several of the natives, some of the latter stole, or snatched from them, some bread and fish, for which they were beat. This being resented, a quarrel ensued, and two New Zealanders were shot dead, by the only two muskets that were fired. For before our people had time to discharge a third, or to load again those that had been fired, the natives rushed in upon them, overpowered them with their numbers, and put them all to death. They, besides relating the history of the massacre made us acquainted with the very spot that was the scene of it. It is at the

corner of the cove, on the right hand. They pointed to the place of the sun, to mark to us at what hour of the day it happened; and, according to this, it must have been late in the afternoon. They also showed us the place where the boat lay; and it appeared to be about two hundred yards distant from that where the crew were seated. One of their number, a black servant of Captain Furneaux, was left in the boat to take care of her. We were afterwards told that this black was the cause of the quarrel, which was said to have happened thus: One of the natives stealing something out of the boat, the negro gave him a severe blow with a stick. The cries of the fellow being heard by his countrymen at a distance, they imagined he was killed, and immediately began the attack on our people; who, before they had time to reach the boat, or to arm themselves against the unexpected impending danger, fell a sacrifice to the fury of their savage assailants.

We staid here till the evening, when, having loaded the rest of the boats with grass, celery, scurvy-grass, &c., we embarked to return to the ships. We had scarcely put off from the shore, when the wind began to blow very hard at north-west, which obliged him to put back. We proceeded ourselves, but it was with a good deal of difficulty that we could reach the ships; where some of the boats did not arrive till one o'clock the next morning; and it was fortunate that they got on board then, for it afterwards blew a perfect storm, with abundance of rain, so that no manner of work could go forward that day. In the evening the gale ceased, and the wind having veered to the east, brought with it fair weather.

We had not been long at anchor near Motuara, before three or four canoes, filled with natives, came off to us from the south-east side of the Sound; and a brisk trade



was carried on with them for the curiosities of this place. In one of these canoes was Kahoorā, whom I have already mentioned as the leader of the party who cut off the crew of the *Adventure's* boat. This was the third time he had visited us, without betraying the smallest appearance of fear. I was ashore when he now arrived, but had got on board just as he was going away. Omai, who had returned with me, presently pointed him out, and solicited me to shoot him. Not satisfied with this, he addressed himself to Kahoorā, threatening to be his executioner, if ever he presumed to visit us again. The New Zealander paid so little regard to these threats, that he returned, the next morning, with his whole family, men, women, and children, to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the first who acquainted me with his being alongside the ship, and desired to know if he should ask him to come on board. I told him he might; and accordingly he introduced the chief into the cabin, saying, "There is Kahoorā; kill him!" But, as if he had forgot his former threats, or were afraid that I should call upon him to perform them, he immediately retired. In a short time, however, he returned; and seeing the chief unhurt, he expostulated with me very earnestly, saying, "Why do you not kill him? You tell me, if a man kills another in England, that he is hanged for it. This man has killed ten, and yet you will not kill him; though many of his countrymen desire it, and it would be very good." Omai's arguments, though specious enough, having no weight with me, I desired him to ask the chief, why he had killed Captain Furneaux's people? At this question, Kahoorā folded his arms, hung down his head, and looked like one caught in a trap; and, I firmly believe, he expected instant death. But no sooner was he assured of his safety, than he became cheerful. He did not, however, seem willing

to give me an answer to the question that had been put to him, till I had, again and again, repeated my promise that he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us, that one of his countrymen having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return it nor give anything for it ; on which the owner of it snatched up the bread as an equivalent ; and then the quarrel began.

For some time before we arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expressed a desire to take one of the natives with him to his own country. We had not been there many days, before he had an opportunity of being gratified in this ; for a youth, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Taweharooa, offered to accompany him, and took up his residence on board. I paid little attention to this at first, imagining that he would leave us when we were about to depart, and after he had got what he could from Omai. At length, finding that he was fixed in his resolution to go with us, and having learnt that he was the only son of a deceased chief, and that his mother, still living, was a woman much respected here, I was apprehensive that Omai had deceived him and his friends, by giving them hopes and assurances of his being sent back. I therefore caused it to be made known to them all, that if the young man went away with us, he would never return. But this declaration seemed to make no sort of impression. The afternoon before we left the cove, Tiratoutou, his mother, came on board, to receive her last present from Omai. The same evening she and Taweharooa parted, with all the marks of tender affection that might be expected between a parent and a child who were never to meet again. But she said she would cry no more ; and, sure enough, she kept her word. For, when she returned the next morning, to take her last farewell

of him, all the time she was on board she remained quite cheerful, and went away wholly unconcerned.

That Taweiharooa might be sent away in a manner becoming his birth, another youth was to have gone with him as his servant; and, with this view, as we supposed, he remained on board till we were about to sail, when his friends took him ashore. However, his place was supplied, next morning, by another, a boy of about nine or ten years of age, named Kokoa. He was presented to me by his own father, who, I believe, would have parted with his dog with far less indifference. The very little clothing the boy had, he stripped him of, and left him as naked as he was born. It was to no purpose that I endeavoured to convince these people of the improbability, or rather of the impossibility, of these youths ever returning home. Not one, not even their nearest relations, seemed to trouble themselves about their future fate. Since this was the case, and I was well satisfied that the boys would be no losers by exchange of place, I the more readily gave my consent to their going.

We had no sooner lost sight of the land than our two New Zealand adventurers, the sea-sickness they now experienced giving a turn to their reflections, repented heartily of the step they had taken. All the soothing encouragement we could think of, availed but little. They wept both in public and in private; and made their lamentations in a kind of song, which, as far as we could comprehend the meaning of the words, was expressive of their praises of their country and people, from which they were to be separated for ever. Thus they continued for many days, till their sea-sickness wore off, and the tumult of their minds began to subside. Then these fits of lamentation became less and less frequent, and at length entirely ceased. Their native country and their friends



were, by degrees, forgot, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to us, as if they had been born amongst us.

From my own observations, and from the information of Taweharooa and others, it appears to me that the New Zealanders must live under perpetual apprehensions of being destroyed by each other; there being few of their tribes that have not, as they think, sustained wrongs from some other tribe, which they are continually upon the watch to revenge. And, perhaps, the desire of a good meal may be no small incitement. I am told that many years will sometimes elapse before a favourable opportunity happens, and that the son never loses sight of an injury that has been done to his father. Their method of executing their horrible designs, is by stealing upon the adverse party in the night; and if they find them unguarded (which, however, I believe, is very seldom the case), they kill every one indiscriminately, not even sparing the women and children. When the massacre is completed, they either feast and gorge themselves on the spot, or carry off as many of the dead bodies as they can, and devour them at home, with acts of brutality too shocking to be described.

They live chiefly by fishing, making use either of nets of different kinds, or of wooden fish-hooks pointed with bone; but so oddly made, that a stranger is at a loss to know how they can answer such a purpose. It also appears, that they remove their habitations from one place to another when the fish grow scarce, or for some other reason; for we found houses now built in several parts, where there had been none when we were here during our last voyage, and even these have been already deserted. Their boats are well built, of planks raised upon each other, and fastened with strong withes, which also bind a long narrow piece on the outside of the seams to prevent their leaking.

Some are fifty feet long, and so broad as to be able to sail without an outrigger ; but the smaller sort commonly have one ; and they often fasten two together by rafters, which we then call a double canoe. They carry from five to thirty men or more ; and have often a large head ingeniously carved, and painted with a figure at the point, which seems intended to represent a man, with his features distorted by rage. Their paddles are about four or five feet long, narrow, and pointed ; with which, when they keep time, the boat is pushed along pretty swiftly. Their sail, which is seldom used, is made of a mat of a triangular shape, having the broadest part above.

The only method of dressing their fish, is by roasting, or rather baking, for they are entirely ignorant of the art of boiling. In the same manner they dress the root, and part of the stalk, of the large fern-tree, in a great hole dug for that purpose, which serves as an oven. After which they split it, and find within a fine gelatinous substance, like boiled sago-powder, but firmer. They also use another smaller fern root, which seems to be their substitute for bread, as it is dried and carried about with them, together with dried fish in great quantities, when they remove their families, or go far from home. This they beat with a stick till it becomes pretty soft, when they chew it sufficiently, and spit out the hard fibrous part, the other having a sweetish mealy taste not at all disagreeable. When they dare not venture to sea, or perhaps from choice, they supply the place of other fish with muscles and sea-ears ; great quantities of the shells of which lie in heaps near their houses. And they sometimes, though rarely, find means to kill rails, penguins, and shags, which help to vary their diet. They also breed considerable numbers of the dogs, mentioned before, for food ; but these cannot be considered as a principal article of diet.

From whence we may conclude, that as there is not the least sign of cultivation of land, they depend principally for their subsistence on the sea, which, indeed, is very bountiful in its supply.

Their method of feeding corresponds with the nastiness of their persons, which often smell disagreeably from the quantity of grease about them, and their clothes never being washed. We have seen them eat the vermin, with which their heads are sufficiently stocked. They also used to devour, with the greatest eagerness, large quantities of stinking train oil, and blubber of seals, which we were melting at the tent, and had kept near two months ; and, on board the ships, they were not satisfied with emptying the lamps, but actually swallowed the cotton and fragrant wick with equal voracity. It is worthy of notice, that though the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land appear to have but a scanty subsistence, they would not even taste our bread, though they saw us eat it ; whereas these people devoured it greedily, when both mouldy and rotten. But this must not be imputed to any defect in their sensations ; for I have observed them throw away things which we eat, with evident disgust, after only smelling to them.

They salute strangers much by joining noses ; adding, however, the additional ceremony of taking the hand of the person to whom they are paying civilities, and rubbing it with a degree of force upon their nose and mouth.



## CHAPTER XVII

APRIL TO JULY 1777

THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS—LANDING AT ANNAMOOKA—VISIT BY A GREAT CHIEF FROM TONGATABOO—WHO DINES ON BOARD EVERY DAY—ARRIVAL AT HAPAE—BOXING AND WRESTLING—EXERCISES BY MARINES—AND A FIREWORK SHOW—A GRAND SOLEMNITY CALLED NATCHE—TAKING LEAVE OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

IN the night between the 24th and 25th we passed Savage Island, which I had discovered in 1774; and on the 28th, at ten o'clock in the morning, we got sight of the Friendly Islands which lie to the eastward of Annamooka.

At four o'clock next morning, I ordered a boat to be hoisted out, and sent the master to sound the south-west side of Annamooka; where there appeared to be a harbour, formed by the island on the north-east, and by small islets and shoals, to the south-west and south-east. In the mean time the ships were got under sail, and wrought up to the island.

On the 6th we were visited by a great chief from Tongataboo, whose name was Feenou, and whom Taipa was pleased to introduce to us as king of all the Friendly Isles. I was now told, that on my arrival, a canoe had been despatched to Tongataboo with the news: in consequence of which, this chief immediately passed over to Annamooka. The officer on shore informed me, that when he first arrived, all the natives were ordered out to meet him, and paid their obeisance by bowing their heads as low as his feet, the soles of which they also touched with each hand, first with the palm, and then with the back part. There could be little room to suspect that a person, received with so much respect, could be anything less than the king.

In the afternoon, I went to pay this great man a visit, having first received a present of two fish from him,

brought on board by one of his servants. As soon as I landed, he came up to me. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, tall but thin, and had more of the European features than any I had yet seen here. When the first salutation was over, I asked if he was the king ; for, notwithstanding what I had been told, finding he was not the man whom I remembered to have seen under that character during my former voyage, I began to entertain doubts. Taipa officiously answered for him, and enumerated no less than one hundred and fifty-three islands, of which, he said, Feenou was the sovereign. After a short stay, our new visitor, and five or six of his attendants, accompanied me on board. I gave suitable presents to them all, and entertained them in such a manner as I thought would be most agreeable.

In the evening, I attended them on shore in my boat, into which the chief ordered three hogs to be put, as a return for the presents he had received from me. I was now informed of an accident which had just happened, the relation of which will convey some idea of the extent of the authority exercised here over the common people. While Feenou was on board my ship, an inferior chief, for what reason our people on shore did not know, ordered all the natives to retire from the post we occupied. Some of them having ventured to return, he took up a large stick and beat them most unmercifully. He struck one man, on the side of the face, with so much violence, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nostrils ; and, after lying some time motionless, he was at last removed from the place in convulsions. The person who had inflicted the blow, being told that he had killed the man, only laughed at it ; and it was evident that he was not in the least sorry for what had happened. We heard, afterward, that the poor sufferer recovered.

Feenou was so fond of associating with us, that he dined on board every day, though sometimes he did not partake of our fare. On the 10th, some of his servants brought a mess which had been dressed for him on shore. It consisted of fish, soup, and yams. Instead of common water to make the soup, cocoa-nut liquor had been made use of, in which the fish had been boiled or stewed, probably in a wooden vessel with hot stones; but it was carried on board in a plantain leaf. I tasted of the mess, and found it so good, that I afterwards had some fish dressed in the same way. Though my cook succeeded tolerably well, he could produce nothing equal to the dish he imitated.

Finding that we had quite exhausted the island of almost every article of food that it afforded, I employed the 11th in moving off from the shore the horses, observatories, and other things that we had landed, as also the party of marines who had mounted guard at our station, intending to sail as soon as the *Discovery* should have recovered her best bower anchor. Feenou understanding that I meant to proceed directly to Tongataboo, importuned me strongly to alter this plan, to which he expressed as much aversion as if he had some particular interest to promote by diverting me from it. In preference to it, he warmly recommended an island, or rather a group of islands, called Hapae, lying to the north-east. There he assured us we could be supplied plentifully with every refreshment in the easiest manner; and to add weight to his advice, he engaged to attend us thither in person. He carried his point with me; and Hapae was made choice of for our next station.

By the time we had anchored, the ships were filled with the natives, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes, filled also with them. They brought from the shore hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, which they exchanged for hatchets,



knives, nails, beads, and cloth. Feenou and Omai having come on board after it was light, in order to introduce me to the people of the island, I soon accompanied them on shore for that purpose, landing at the north part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ship's station.

The chief conducted me to a house, or rather a hut, situated close to the sea-beach, which I had seen brought thither but a few minutes before for our reception. In this Feenou, Omai, and myself were seated. The other chiefs and the multitude composed a circle on the outside, fronting us, and they also sat down. I was then asked, how long I intended to stay? On my saying five days, Taipa was ordered to come and sit by me, and proclaim this to the people. He then harangued them in a speech mostly dictated by Feenou. The purport of it, as I learned from Omai, was, that they were all, both old and young, to look upon me as a friend, who intended to remain with them a few days; that during my stay they must not steal anything, nor molest me any other way; and that it was expected they should bring hogs, fowls, fruits, &c. to the ships, where they would receive in exchange for them, such and such things, which he enumerated.

Next morning early, Feenou and Omai, who scarcely ever quitted the chief, and now slept on shore, came on board. The object of the visit was to require my presence upon the island. After some time I accompanied them, and upon landing was conducted to the same place where I had been seated the day before, and where I saw a large concourse of people already assembled. I guessed that something more than ordinary was in agitation, but could not tell what, nor could Omai inform me. I had not been long seated, before near a hundred of the natives appeared in sight, and advanced laden with yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes. They

deposited their burdens in two heaps or piles upon our left, being the side they came from. Soon after, arrived a number of others from the right, bearing the same kind of articles ; which were collected into two piles upon that side. To these were tied two pigs and six fowls, and to those upon the left six pigs and two turtles.

As soon as this munificent collection of provisions was laid down in order, and disposed to the best advantage, the bearers of it joined the multitude, who formed a large circle round the whole. Presently after a number of men entered this circle or area before us, armed with clubs, made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree. These paraded about for a few minutes, and then retired, the one-half to one side, and the other half to the other side ; seating themselves before the spectators. Soon after they successively entered the lists, and entertained us with single combats. One champion, rising up and stepping forward from one side, challenged those of the other side, by expressive gestures more than by words, to send one of their body to oppose him. If the challenge was accepted, which was generally the case, the two combatants put themselves in proper attitudes, and then began the engagement, which continued till one or other owned himself conquered, or till their weapons were broken. As soon as each combat was over, the victor squatted himself down facing the chief, then rose up and retired. At the same time some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words ; and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the victor belonged, celebrated the glory he had acquired in two or three huzzas.

This entertainment was now and then suspended for a few minutes. During these intervals, there were both wrestling and boxing matches. The first were performed in the same manner as at Otaheite, and the second differed

very little from the method practised in England. But what struck us with most surprise, was to see a couple of lusty wenches step forth and begin boxing, without the least ceremony, and with as much art as the men. This contest, however, did not last above half a minute before one of them gave it up. The conquering heroine received the same applause from the spectators, which they bestowed upon the successful combatants of the other sex. We expressed some dislike at this part of the entertainment, which, however, did not prevent two other females from entering the lists. They seemed to be girls of spirit, and would certainly have given each other a good drubbing, if two old women had not interposed to part them. All these combats were exhibited in the midst of at least three thousand people; and were conducted with the greatest good humour on all sides, though some of the champions, women as well as men, received blows, which, doubtless, they must have felt for some time after.

Feenou had expressed a desire to see the marines go through their military exercise. As I was desirous to gratify his curiosity, I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the morning of the 20th. After they had performed various evolutions, and fired several volleys, with which the numerous body of spectators seemed well pleased, the chief entertained us, in his turn, with an exhibition which, as was acknowledged by us all, was performed with a dexterity and exactness far surpassing the specimen we had given of our military manœuvres. It was a kind of dance, so entirely different from anything I had ever seen, that I fear I can give no description that will convey any tolerable idea of it to my readers. It was performed by men, and one hundred and five persons bore their parts in it. Each of them had in his hand an instrument neatly made, shaped somewhat like a paddle, of two feet



and a half in length, with a small handle and a thin blade, so that they were very light. With these instruments they made many and various flourishes, each of which was accompanied with a different attitude of the body, or a different movement. At first the performers ranged themselves in three lines; and, by various evolutions, each man changed his station in such a manner, that those who had been in the rear came into the front. Nor did they remain long in the same position, but these changes were made by pretty quick transitions. At one time they extended themselves in one line; they then formed into a semicircle; and, lastly, into two square columns. While this last movement was executing, one of them advanced, and performed an antic dance before me, with which the whole ended. The musical instruments consisted of two drums, or rather two hollow logs of wood, from which some varied notes were produced by beating on them with two sticks.

It did not, however, appear to me that the dancers were much assisted or directed by these sounds, but by a chorus of vocal music in which all the performers joined at the same time. Their song was not destitute of pleasing melody; and all their corresponding motions were executed with so much skill, that the numerous body of dancers seemed to act as if they were one great machine. It was the opinion of every one of us, that such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European theatre; and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them, that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us. As to our musical instruments, they held none of them in the least esteem, except the drum; and even that they did not think equal to their own. Our French horns, in particular, seemed to be held in great contempt; for neither here, nor at any

other of the islands, would they pay the smallest attention to them. In order to give a more favourable opinion of English amusements, and to leave their minds fully impressed with the deepest sense of our superior attainments, I directed some fireworks to be got ready ; and, after it was dark, played them off in the presence of Feenou, the other chiefs, and a vast concourse of their people. Some of the preparations we found damaged ; but others of them were in excellent order, and succeeded so perfectly, as to answer the end I had in view. Our water and sky-rockets, in particular, pleased and astonished them beyond all conception ; and the scale was now turned in our favour.

We were now ready to sail, but the wind being easterly, we had not sufficient daylight to turn through the narrows, either with the morning or with the evening flood ; the one falling out too early and the other too late. So that, without a leading wind, we were under a necessity of waiting two or three days.

I took the opportunity to be present at a public solemnity, to which the king had invited us when we went last to visit him, and which he had informed us was to be performed on the 8th. With a view to this, he and all the people of note quitted our neighbourhood on the 7th, and repaired to Mooa, where the solemnity was to be exhibited. A party of us followed them the next morning. We understood that his son and heir was now to be initiated into certain privileges ; amongst which was that of eating with his father ; an honour he had not as yet been admitted to. We arrived at Mooa about eight o'clock, and found the king with a large circle of attendants sitting before him, within an enclosure so small and dirty, as to excite my wonder that any such could be found in that neighbourhood. They were intent upon their usual morning occupation,

in preparing a bowl of *kava*. As this was no liquor for us, we walked out to visit some of our friends, and to observe what preparations might be making for the ceremony, which was soon to begin. About ten o'clock the people began to assemble in a large area, which is before the *malae*, or great house, to which we had been conducted the first time we visited Mooa. At the end of a road that opens into this area, stood some men with spears and clubs, who kept constantly reciting or chanting short sentences, in a mournful tone, which conveyed some idea of distress, and as if they called for something. This was continued about an hour; and, in the meantime, many people came down the road, each of them bringing a yam tied to the middle of a pole, which they laid down before the persons who continued repeating the sentences. While this was going on, the king and prince arrived, and seated themselves upon the area; and we were desired to sit down by them, but to pull off our hats, and to untie our hair.

At length arrived a few men carrying some small poles, and branches or leaves of the cocoa-nut tree; and upon their first appearance, an old man seated himself in the road, and, with his face towards them, pronounced a long oration in a serious tone. He then retired back, and the others advancing to the middle of the area, began to erect a small shed, employing for that purpose the materials above-mentioned. When they had finished their work, they all squatted down for a moment before it, then rose up and retired to the rest of the company. Soon after came Poulaho's son, preceded by four or five men, and they seated themselves a little aside from the shed, and rather behind it. After them appeared twelve or fourteen women of the first rank, walking slowly in pairs, each pair carrying between them a narrow piece of white cloth, extended about two or three yards in length. These



marched up to the prince, squatted down before him, and, having wrapped some of the pieces of the cloth they had brought round his body, they rose up and retired in the same order, to some distance on his left, and there seated themselves. Poulaho himself soon made his appearance, preceded by four men, who walked two and two abreast, and sat down on his son's left hand, about twenty paces from him. The young prince then quitting his first position, went and sat down under the shed with his attendants; and a considerable number more placed themselves on the grass before this royal canopy. The prince himself sat facing the people, with his back to the *morai*.

I sat a full hour without anything more going forward beside what I have mentioned. At length the prince, the women, and the king, all came in, as they had done the day before. The prince, being placed under the shed, after his father's arrival, two men, each carrying a piece of mat, came, repeating something seriously, and put them about him. The assembled people now began their operations; and first, three companies ran backward and forward across the area, as described in the account of the proceedings of the former day. Soon after, the two men who sat in the middle of the area made a short speech or prayer; and then the whole body amongst whom I had my place, started up, and ran and seated themselves before the shed under which the prince and three or four men were sitting. I was now partly under the management of one of the company, who seemed very assiduous to serve me. By his means, I was placed in such a situation, that if I had been allowed to make use of my eyes, nothing that passed could have escaped me. But it was necessary to sit with downcast looks, and demure as maids.

Soon after, the procession came in, each two persons bearing on their shoulders a pole, round the middle of

which a cocoa-nut leaf was plaited. These were deposited with ceremonies similar to those observed on the preceding day. This first procession was followed by a second; the men composing which brought baskets, such as are usually employed by this people to carry provisions in, and made of palm-leaves. These were followed by a third procession, in which were brought different kinds of small fish; each fixed at the end of a forked stick. The baskets were carried up to an old man, whom I took to be the chief-priest, and who sat on the prince's right hand, without the shed. He held each in his hand, while he made a short speech or prayer, then laid it down, and called for another, repeating the same words as before; and thus he went through the whole number of baskets. The fish were presented one by one on the forked sticks, as they came in, to two men who sat on the left; and who, till now, held green branches in their hands. The first fish they laid down on their right, and the second on their left. When the third was presented, a stout-looking man, who sat behind the other two, reached his arm over between them, and made a snatch at it; as also did the other two, at the very same time. Thus they seemed to contend for every fish that was presented; but as there were two hands against one, besides the advantage of situation, the man behind got nothing but pieces; for he never quitted his hold till the fish was torn out of his hand; and what little remained in it he shook out behind him. The others laid what they got on the right and left alternately. At length, either by accident or design, the man behind got possession of a whole fish, without either of the other two so much as touching it. At this the word *marecai*, which signifies "very good", or "well done", was uttered in a low voice throughout the whole crowd. It seemed that he had performed now all that was expected from him;

for he made no attempt upon the few fish that came after. These fish, as also the baskets, were all delivered, by the persons who brought them in, sitting; and in the same order and manner the small poles, which the first procession carried, had been laid upon the ground.

The last procession being closed, there was some speaking or praying by different persons. Then, on some signal being given, we all started up, ran several paces to the left, and sat down with our backs to the prince, and the few who remained with him. I was desired not to look behind me. However, neither this injunction, nor the remembrance of Lot's wife, discouraged me from facing about. I now saw that the prince had turned his face to the *morai*. But this last movement had brought so many people between him and me, that I could not perceive what was doing. I was afterwards assured, that at this very time, the prince was admitted to the high honour of eating with his father, which till now had never been permitted to him; a piece of roasted yam being presented to each of them for this purpose.

We now took leave of the Friendly Islands and their inhabitants, after a stay of between two and three months; during which time, we lived together in the most cordial friendship. Some accidental differences, it is true, now and then happened, owing to their great propensity for thieving; but, too often encouraged by the negligence of our own people. But these differences were never attended with any fatal consequences; to prevent which, all my measures were directed; and I believe, few on board our ships left our friends here without some regret. The time employed amongst them was not thrown away. We expended very little of our sea provisions; subsisting in general upon the produce of the islands, while we staid; and carrying away with us a quantity of refreshments sufficient to



last till our arrival at another station, where we could depend upon a fresh supply. I was not sorry, besides, to have had an opportunity of bettering the condition of these good people, by leaving the useful animals before-mentioned among them; and, at the same time, those designed for Otaheite, received fresh strength in the pastures of Tongataboo. Upon the whole, therefore, the advantages we received by touching here were very great; and I had the additional satisfaction to reflect, that they were received, without retarding one moment the prosecution of the great object of our voyage; the season for proceeding to the north being, as has been already observed, lost, before I took the resolution of bearing away for these islands.

## CHAPTER XVIII

OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER 1777

RETURN TO HUAHEINE—PLANS FOR SETTLING OMAI—MEETING WITH PRIEST AND PRINCIPAL PEOPLE ON OMAI'S BEHALF—CHOOSING A SITE FOR OMAI'S HOUSE—A PLAGUE OF COCKROACHES ON BOARD—OMAI'S HOUSE FURNISHED—HIS EUROPEAN WEAPONS—GOOD-BYE TO OMAI—HIS CHARACTER—A LAST PRESENT—A NOTE FROM BOSWELL'S DR. JOHNSON.

HAVING left Eimeo, with a gentle breeze and fine weather, at daybreak the next morning we saw Huaheine, extending from south-west by west, half west, to west by north. At noon we anchored at the north entrance of Owharre harbour, which is on the west side of the island. The whole afternoon was spent in warping the ships into a proper berth, and mooring. Omai entered the harbour just before us, in his canoe, but did not land. Nor did he take much notice of any of his countrymen, though many crowded to see him; but far more of them came off to the ships, insomuch that we could hardly work on account of their numbers.

Our arrival brought all the principal people of the island to our ships on the next morning, being the 13th. This was just what I wished, as it was high time to think of settling Omai; and the presence of these chiefs, I guessed, would enable me to do it in the most satisfactory manner.

Omai dressed himself very properly on the occasion, and prepared a handsome present for the chief himself, and another for his *Eatooa*. Indeed, after he had got clear of the gang that surrounded him at Otaheite, he behaved with such prudence as to gain respect. Our landing drew most of our visitors from the ships; and they, as well as those that were on shore, assembled in a large house. The concourse of people, on this occasion, was very great;

and amongst them, there appeared to be a greater proportion of personable men and women than we had ever seen in one assembly at any of these new islands. Not only the bulk of the people seemed in general much stouter and fairer than those of Otaheite, but there was also a much greater number of men who appeared to be of consequence, in proportion to the extent of the island; most of whom had exactly the corpulent appearance of the chiefs of Wateco. Omai, who stood at a little distance from this circle of great men, began with making his offering to the gods, consisting of red feathers, cloth, &c. Then followed another offering, which was to be given to the gods by the chief; and, after that, several other small pieces and tufts of red feathers were presented. Each article was laid before one of the company, who, I understood, was a priest, and was delivered with a set speech or prayer, spoken by one of Omai's friends, who sat by him, but mostly dictated by himself. In these prayers, he did not forget his friends in England, nor those who had brought him safe back. The *Earee rahie no Pretane*, Lord Sandwich, *Toote*, *Tatee*,<sup>1</sup> were mentioned in every one of them. When Omai's offerings and prayers were finished, the priest took each article, in the same order in which it had been laid before him, and after repeating a prayer, sent it to the *morai*; which, as Omai told us, was at a great distance, otherwise the offerings would have been made there.

These religious ceremonies having been performed, Omai sat down by me, and we entered upon business, by giving the young chief my present, and receiving his in return; and, all things considered, they were liberal enough on both sides. Omai's establishment was then proposed to the assembled chiefs.

<sup>1</sup> Cook and Clerke.



He acquainted them, " That he had been carried by us into our country, where he was well received by the great king and his *Earees*, and treated with every mark of regard and affection, while he staid amongst us ; that he had been brought back again, enriched by our liberality with a variety of articles, which would prove very useful to his countrymen ; and that, besides the two horses which were to remain with him, several other new and valuable animals had been left at Otaheite, which would soon multiply, and furnish a sufficient number for the use of all the islands in the neighbourhood. He then signified to them, that it was my earnest request, in return for all my friendly offices, that they would give him a piece of land, to build a house upon, and to raise provisions for himself and servants ; adding, that, if this could not be obtained for him at Huaheine, either by gift or by purchase, I was determined to carry him to Ulietea, and fix him there."

One of the chiefs immediately expressed himself to this effect : " That the whole island of Huaheine, and everything in it, were mine ; and that, therefore, I might give what portion of it I pleased to my friend." Omai, who, like the rest of his countrymen, seldom sees things beyond the present moment, was greatly pleased to hear this ; thinking, no doubt, that I should be very liberal, and give him enough. But to offer what it would have been improper to accept, I considered as offering nothing at all ; and, therefore, I now desired, that they would not only assign the particular spot, but also the exact quantity of land which they would allot for the settlement. Upon this, some chiefs, who had already left the assembly, were sent for, and after a short consultation among themselves, my request was granted, by general consent, and the ground immediately pitched upon, adjoining to the house where our meeting was held. The extent, along the shore

of the harbour, was about two hundred yards, and its depth, to the foot of the hill, somewhat more; but a proportional part of the hill was included in the grant.

This business being settled to the satisfaction of all parties, I set up a tent ashore, established a post, and erected the observatories. The carpenters of both ships were also set to work, to build a small house for Omai, in which he might secure the European commodities that were his property. At the same time, some hands were employed in making a garden for his use; planting shaddocks, vines, pine-apples, melons, and the seeds of several other vegetable articles, all of which I had the satisfaction of observing to be in a flourishing state before I left the island.

While we lay in this harbour, we carried ashore the bread remaining in the bread-room, to clear it of vermin. The number of cockroaches that infested the ship at this time is incredible; the damage they did us was very considerable, and every method devised by us to destroy them proved ineffectual. These animals, which at first were a nuisance, like all other insects, had now become a real pest, and so destructive that few things were free from their ravages; if food of any kind was exposed only for a few minutes, it was covered with them, and they soon pierced it full of holes resembling a honeycomb. They were particularly destructive to birds, which had been stuffed and preserved as curiosities, and, what was worse, were uncommonly fond of ink, so that the writing on the labels, fastened to different articles, was quite eaten out; and the only thing that preserved books from them was the closeness of the binding, which prevented these devourers getting between the leaves. They even got amongst the rigging, so that when a sail was loosened, thousands of them fell upon the decks.

Omai's house being nearly finished, many of his moveables were carried ashore on the 26th. Amongst a variety of other useless articles was a box of toys, which, when exposed to public view, seemed greatly to please the gazing multitude; but as to his pots, kettles, dishes, plates, drinking-mugs, glasses, and the whole train of our domestic accommodations, hardly any one of his countrymen would so much as look at them. Omai himself now began to think that they were of no manner of use to him—that a baked hog was more savoury food than a boiled one—that a plaintain-leaf made as good a dish or plate as pewter—and that a cocoa-nut shell was as convenient a goblet as a black-jack; and, therefore, he very wisely disposed of as many of these articles of English furniture for the kitchen and pantry, as he could find purchasers for, amongst the people of the ships, receiving from them, in return, hatchets, and other iron tools, which had a more intrinsic value in this part of the world, and added more to his distinguishing superiority over those with whom he was to pass the remainder of his days. In the long list of the presents bestowed upon him in England, fire-works had not been forgot. Some of these we exhibited in the evening of the 28th, before a great concourse of people, who beheld them with a mixture of pleasure and fear; what remained after the evening's entertainment, were put in order and left with Omai, agreeably to their original destination. Perhaps we need not lament it as a serious misfortune, that the far greater share of this part of his cargo had been already expended in exhibitions at other islands, or rendered useless by being kept so long.

As soon as Omai was settled in his new habitation, I began to think of leaving the island, and got everything off from the shore this evening except the horse and mare,



and a goat big with kid, which were left in the possession of our friend, with whom we were now finally to part.

His European weapons consisted of a musket, bayonet, and cartouch-box ; a fowling-piece, two pairs of pistols, and two or three swords or cutlasses. The possession of these made him quite happy, which was my only view in giving him such presents ; for I was always of opinion that he would have been happier without fire-arms, and other European weapons, than with them ; as such implements of war, in the hands of one whose prudent use of them I had some grounds for mistrusting, would rather increase his dangers than establish his superiority. After he had got on shore everything that belonged to him, and was settled in his house, he had most of the officers of both ships, two or three times, to dinner ; and his table was always well supplied with the very best provisions that the island produced. Before I sailed, I had the following inscription cut upon the outside of his house :—

GEORGIUS TERTIUS, REX, 2 NOVEMBRIS, 1777.

NAVES	RESOLUTION, JAC. COOK, PR.
	DISCOVERY, CAR. CLERKE, PR.

On the 2d of November, at four in the afternoon, I took the advantage of a breeze which then sprung up at east, and sailed out of the harbour. Most of our friends remained on board till the ships were under sail, when, to gratify their curiosity, I ordered five guns to be fired. They then all took their leave, except Omai, who remained till we were at sea. We had come to sail by a hawser fastened to the shore. In casting the ship it parted, being cut by the rocks, and the outer end was left behind, as those who cast it off did not perceive that it was broken ; so that it became necessary to send a boat to bring it on board. In this boat Omai went ashore, after taking a very affectionate

farewell of all the officers. He sustained himself with a manly resolution till he came to me. Then his utmost efforts to conceal his tears failed; and Mr. King, who went in the boat, told me that he wept all the time in going ashore.

It was no small satisfaction to reflect that we had brought him safe back to the very spot from which he was taken.

Whatever faults belonged to Omai's character, they were more than over-balanced by his great good nature and docile disposition. During the whole time he was with me, I very seldom had reason to be seriously displeased with his general conduct. His grateful heart always retained the highest sense of the favours he had received in England; nor will he ever forget those who honoured him with their protection and friendship during his stay there. He had a tolerable share of understanding, but wanted application and perseverance to exert it; so that his knowledge of things was very general, and, in many instances, imperfect. He was not a man of much observation. There were many useful arts, as well as elegant amusements, amongst the people of the Friendly Islands, which he might have conveyed to his own, where they probably would have been readily adopted, as being so much in their own way. But I never found that he used the least endeavour to make himself master of any one. This kind of indifference is, indeed, the characteristic foible of his nation. Europeans have visited them, at times, for these ten years past; yet we could not discover the slightest trace of any attempt to profit by this intercourse; nor have they hitherto copied after us in any one thing. We are not, therefore, to expect that Omai will be able to introduce many of our arts and customs among them, or much improve those to which they have been long

habituated. I am confident, however, that he will endeavour to bring to perfection the various fruits and vegetables we planted, which will be no small acquisition. But the greatest benefit these islands are likely to receive from Omai's travels will be in the animals that have been left upon them, which, probably, they never would have got had he not come to England. When these multiply, of which I think there is little doubt, Otaheite and the Society Islands will equal, if not exceed, any place in the known world for provisions.

Omai's return, and the substantial proofs he brought back with him of our liberality, encouraged many to offer themselves as volunteers to attend me to *Pretane*. I took every opportunity of expressing my determination to reject all such applications. But, notwithstanding this, Omai, who was very ambitious of remaining the only great traveller, being afraid lest I might be prevailed upon to put others in a situation of rivalling him, frequently put me in mind, that Lord Sandwich had told him no others of his countrymen were to come to England.

If there had been the most distant probability of any ship being again sent to New Zealand, I would have brought the two youths of that country home with me, as both of them were very desirous of continuing with us. Tiarooa, the eldest, was an exceedingly well-disposed young man, with strong natural sense, and capable of receiving any instruction. He seemed to be fully sensible of the inferiority of his own country to these islands, and resigned himself, though perhaps with reluctance, to end his days in ease and plenty in Huaheine. But the other was so strongly attached to us, that he was taken out of the ship and carried ashore by force. He was a witty, smart boy; and on that account much noticed on board.



The boat which carried Omai ashore never to join us again, having returned to the ship with the remainder of the hawser, we hoisted her in, and immediately stood over for Ulietea, where I intended to touch next. At ten o'clock at night we brought to till four the next morning, when we made sail round the south end of the island for the harbour of Ohamaneno. We met with calms and light airs of wind from different directions, by turns, so that at noon we were still a league from the entrance of the harbour. While we were thus detained, my old friend Oreo, chief of the island, with his son, and Pootoe his son-in-law, came off to visit us. Being resolved to push for the harbour, I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out, and sent them ahead to tow, being assisted by a slight breeze from the southward. This breeze failed too soon, and being succeeded by one from the east, which blew right out of the harbour, we were obliged to come to an anchor at its entrance, at two o'clock, and to warp in, which employed us till night set in. As soon as we were within the harbour, the ships were surrounded with canoes filled with people, who brought hogs and fruit to barter with us for our commodities; so that, wherever we went, we found plenty.

Though we had separated from Omai, we were still near enough to have intelligence of his proceeding; and I had desired to hear from him. Accordingly, about a fortnight after our arrival at Ulietea, he sent two of his people in a canoe; who brought me the satisfactory intelligence, that he remained undisturbed by the people of the island, and that everything went well with him, except that his goat had died. He accompanied this intelligence with a request, that I would send him another goat, and two axes. Being happy to have this additional opportunity of serving him, the messengers were sent

back to Huaheine, on the 18th, with the axes, and two kids, male and female, which were spared for him out of the *Discovery*.

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A NOTE ON OMAI, FROM BOSWELL'S DR. JOHNSON  
*April 1776*

“ He had been in company with Omai, a native of one of the South Sea islands, after he had been some time in this country. He was struck with the elegance of his behaviour, and accounted for it thus: ‘ Sir, he had passed his time while in England only in the best company, so that all that he had acquired of our manners was genteel. As a proof of this, sir, John Mulgrave and he dined one day at Streatham; they sat with their backs to the light fronting me, so that I could not see distinctly; and there was so little of the savage in Omai, that I was afraid to speak to either, lest I should mistake one for the other.’ ”

## CHAPTER XIX

DECEMBER 1777 TO MAY 1778

LEAVING THE SOCIETY ISLANDS FOR NORTH AMERICA—CHRISTMAS ISLAND—MORE ISLANDS AND THEIR INHABITANTS—DISCOVERY OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS—THE NATIVES—THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA—INHABITANTS—STORMY WEATHER—THE NATIVES OF NOOTKA SOUND—THEIR HOUSES—STRANGE IMAGES—NORTHWARDS TO BEERING'S MOUNT ELIAS.

AFTER leaving Bolabola, I steered to the northward, close-hauled, with the wind between N.E. and E., hardly ever having it to the southward of E., till after we crossed the line, and had got into north latitudes. So that our course, made good, was always to the W. of N., and sometimes no better than N.W. Though seventeen months had now elapsed since our departure from England, during which we had not, upon the whole, been unprofitably employed, I was sensible that, with regard to the principal object of my instructions, our voyage was at this time only beginning ; and, therefore, my attention to every circumstance that might contribute toward our safety and our ultimate success, was now to be called forth anew.

The ships weighed anchor, and after two or three trips came-to again in twenty fathoms water, over a bottom of fine dark sand, before a small island that lies at the entrance of the lagoon ; and on each side of which there is a channel leading into it ; but only fit for boats. The water in the lagoon itself is all very shallow.

As we kept our Christmas here, I called this discovery Christmas Island. I judge it to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference.

On the 2nd of January, at day-break, we weighed anchor, and resumed our course to the north ; having fine weather, and a gentle breeze, and I steered for the east end of the second island.



In the course of my several voyages, I never before met with the natives of any place so much astonished as these people were upon entering a ship. Their eyes were continually flying from object to object; the wildness of their looks and gestures fully expressing their entire ignorance about everything they saw, and strongly marking to us, that till now they had never been visited by Europeans, nor been acquainted with any of our commodities except iron, which, however, it was plain they had only heard of, or had known it in some small quantity brought to them at some distant period. They seemed only to understand that it was a substance much better adapted to the purposes of cutting, or of boring of holes, than anything their own country produced. They asked for it by the name of *hamaite*, probably referring to some instrument, in the making of which iron could be usefully employed; for they applied that name to the blade of a knife, though we could be certain that they had no idea of that particular instrument; nor could they at all handle it properly. For the same reason they frequently called iron by the name of *toe*, which in their language signifies a hatchet, or rather a kind of adze. On asking them what iron was, they immediately answered, "We do not know; you know what it is, and we only understand it as *toe*, or *hamaite*." When we showed them some beads, they asked first, "What they were; and then whether they should eat them?" But on being told that they were to be hung in their ears, they returned them as useless. They were equally indifferent as to a looking-glass which was offered them, and returned it for the same reason; but sufficiently expressed their desire for *hamaite* and *toe*, which they wished might be very large. Plates of earthenware, china cups, and other such things, were so new to them that they asked if they were made of wood; but wished to have

some, that they might carry them to be looked at on shore. They were in some respects naturally well bred ; or at least fearful of giving offence, asking where they should sit down, whether they might spit upon the deck, and the like. Some of them repeated a long prayer before they came on board ; and others afterward sung and made motions with their hands, such as we had been accustomed to see in the dances of the islands we had lately visited. There was another circumstance in which they also perfectly resembled those other islanders. At first, on their entering the ship, they endeavoured to steal everything they came near ; or rather to take it openly, as what we either should not resent, or not hinder. We soon convinced them of their mistake ; and if they, after some time, became less active in appropriating to themselves whatever they took a fancy to, it was because they found that we kept a watchful eye over them.

It is worthy of observation, that the islands in the Pacific Ocean, which our late voyages have added to the geography of the globe, have been generally found lying in groups or clusters ; the single intermediate islands, as yet discovered, being few in proportion to the others ; though, probably, there are many more of them still unknown, which serve as steps between the several clusters. Of what number this newly-discovered archipelago consists must be left for future investigation. We saw five of them, whose names, as given to us by the natives, are Woahoo, Atooi, Oneeheow, Oreehoua, and Tahoorā. The last is a small elevated island, lying four or five leagues from the south-east point of Oneeheow. We were told that it abounds with birds, which are its only inhabitants. We also got some information of the existence of a low uninhabited island in the neighbourhood, whose name is Tammata pappā. Besides these six, which we can distinguish by their names, it

appeared, that the inhabitants of those with whom we had intercourse were acquainted with some other islands, both to the eastward and westward. I named the whole group the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich.

The inhabitants are of a middling stature, firmly made, with some exceptions, neither remarkable for a beautiful shape, nor for striking features, which, rather express an openness and good-nature, than a keen, intelligent disposition.

They are vigorous, active and most expert swimmers; leaving their canoes upon the most trifling occasion; diving under them, and swimming to others though at a great distance. It was very common to see women, with infants at the breast, when the surf was so high that they could not land in the canoes, leap overboard, and without endangering their little ones, swim to the shore, through a sea that looked dreadful. They seem to be blest with a frank, cheerful disposition; and were I to draw any comparisons, I should say, that they are equally free from the fickle levity which distinguishes the natives of Otaheite, and the sedate cast observable amongst many of those of Tongataboo. They seem to live very sociably in their intercourse with one another; and, except the propensity to thieving, which seems innate in most of the people we have visited in this ocean, they were exceedingly friendly to us.

After the *Discovery* had joined us, we stood away to the northward, close hauled, with a gentle gale from the E.

On the 6th of February, at noon, we saw two seals and several whales; and at day-break the next morning, the long-looked-for coast of New Albion<sup>1</sup> was seen, extending from north-east to south-east, distant ten or twelve leagues.

<sup>1</sup> This part of the west side of North America was so named by Sir Francis Drake.



We no sooner drew near the inlet, than we found the coast to be inhabited ; and at the place where we were first becalmed three canoes came off to the ship. In one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the two last stood up, and made a long harangue, inviting us to land, as we guessed by his gestures. At the same time, he kept strewing handfuls of feathers towards us ; and some of his companions threw handfuls of red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal, and held in each hand something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet ; and then others took it, by turns, to say something, though they acted their part neither so long, nor with so much vehemence as the other. We observed that two or three had their hair quite strewed over with small white feathers, and others had large ones stuck into different parts of the head. After the tumultuous noise had ceased, they lay at a little distance from the ship, and conversed with each other in a very easy manner ; nor did they seem to show the least surprise or distrust. Some of them now and then got up, and said something after the manner of their first harangues ; and one sang a very agreeable air, with a degree of softness and melody which we could not have expected ; the word *haela*, being often repeated as the burden of the song. The breeze which soon after sprung up bringing us nearer to the shore, the canoes began to come off in greater numbers ; and we had, at one time, thirty-two of them near the ship, carrying from three to seven or eight persons each, both men and women. Several of these stood up in their canoes haranguing, and making gestures after the manner of our first visitors. One canoe

was remarkable for a singular head, which had a bird's eye and bill, of an enormous size, painted on it; and a person who was in it, who seemed to be a chief, was no less remarkable for his uncommon appearance; having many feathers hanging from his head, and being painted in an extraordinary manner. He held in his hand a carved bird of wood, as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled as the person first mentioned had done; and was no less vociferous in his harangue, which was attended with some expressive gestures.

Though our visitors behaved very peaceably, and could not be suspected of any hostile intention, we could not prevail upon any of them to come on board. They showed great readiness, however, to part with anything they had, and took from us whatever we offered them in exchange; but were more desirous of iron than of any other of our articles of commerce; appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal. Many of the canoes followed us to our anchoring-place; and a group of about ten or a dozen of them remained alongside the *Resolution* most part of the night. These circumstances gave us a reasonable ground of hope, that we should find this a comfortable station to supply all our wants, and to make us forget the hardships and delays experienced during a constant succession of adverse winds and boisterous weather, almost ever since our arrival upon the coast of America.

The ships having happily found so excellent shelter in an inlet, the coast of which appeared to be inhabited by a race of people whose inoffensive behaviour promised a friendly intercourse, the next morning, after coming to anchor, I lost no time in endeavouring to find a commodious harbour, where we might station ourselves during our continuance in the sound.

A great many canoes, filled with the natives, were about

the ships all day ; and a trade commenced betwixt us and them, which was carried on with the strictest honesty on both sides. The articles which they offered to sale were skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, polecats, martins ; and, in particular, of the sea otters, which are found at the islands east of Kamtschatka.

But the most extraordinary of all the articles which they brought to the ships for sale were human skulls, and hands not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made our people plainly understand they had eaten ; and, indeed, some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire. We had but too much reason to suspect, from this circumstance, that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies is as prevalent here as we had found it to be at New Zealand and other South Sea Islands.

From the time of our putting into the Sound till now, the weather had been exceedingly fine, without either wind or rain. That comfort, at the very moment when the continuance of it would have been of most service, was withdrawn. In the morning of the 8th, the wind freshened at south-east, attended with thick hazy weather and rain. In the afternoon the wind increased ; and toward the evening it blew very hard indeed. It came, in excessively heavy squalls, from over the high land on the opposite shore, right into the cove ; and, though the ships were very well moored, put them in some danger. These tempestuous blasts succeeded each other pretty quick ; but they were of short duration ; and in the intervals between them we had a perfect calm. According to the old proverb, " misfortunes seldom come single " ; the mizen was now the only mast on board the *Resolution* that remained rigged, with its topmast up. The former was so defective that it could not support the latter during



the violence of the squalls, but gave way at the head under the rigging. About eight o'clock the gale abated ; but the rain continued with very little intermission for several days ; and, that the carpenters might be enabled to proceed in their labours, while it prevailed, a tent was erected over the foremast, where they could work with some degree of convenience. The bad weather which now came on did not, however, hinder the natives from visiting us daily ; and, in such circumstances, their visits were very advantageous to us. For they frequently brought us a tolerable supply of fish, when we could not catch any ourselves with hook and line ; and there was not a proper place near us where we could draw a net. The fish which they brought us were either sardines, or what resembled them much, a small kind of bream, and sometimes small cod.

The persons of the natives are in general under the common stature, but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full or plump, though not muscular. Neither doth the soft fleshiness seem ever to swell into corpulence, and many of the older people are rather spare or lean. The visage of most of them is round and full, and sometimes, also, broad, with large prominent cheeks ; and above these the face is frequently much depressed, or seems fallen in quite across between the temples, the nose also flattening at its base, with pretty wide nostrils, and a rounded point. The forehead rather low, the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling, the mouth round with large round thickish lips, the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin, which does not arise from any natural defect of hair on that part, but from plucking it out more or less ; for some of

them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers or mustachios, both on the upper lip and running from thence toward the lower jaw obliquely downward.

Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were incrustated with paint and dirt; though, in particular cases, when these were well rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans, though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our southern nations. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness.

The nastiness and stench of their houses are, however, at least equal to the confusion; for, as they dry their fish within doors, they also gut them there, which, with their bones and fragments thrown down at meals, and the addition of other sorts of filth, lie everywhere in heaps, and are, I believe, never carried away till it becomes troublesome, from their size, to walk over them. In a word, their houses are as filthy as hog-sties, everything in and about them stinking of fish, train-oil, and smoke. But, amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees four or five feet high, set up singly or by pairs at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face, the arms and hands cut out upon the sides and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of those images is *Klumma*, and the names of two particular ones which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder in one of the houses, were *Natchkoa* and *Matseeta*.

Having put to sea on the evening of the 26th, with strong signs of an approaching storm, these signs did not

deceive us. We were hardly out of the Sound before the wind, in an instant, shifted from N.E. to S.E. by E., and increased to a strong gale with squalls and rain, and so dark a sky that we could not see the length of the ship. Being apprehensive, from the experience I had since our arrival on this coast, of the wind veering more to the S., which would put us in danger of a lee-shore, we got the tacks on board, and stretched off to the S.W., under all the sail the ships could bear. Fortunately the wind veered no farther southerly than S.E., so that at day-light the next morning we were quite clear of the coast. The *Discovery* being at some distance astern, I brought to, till she came up, and then bore away, steering N.W., in which direction I supposed the coast to lie. The wind was at S.E., blew very hard, and in squalls, with thick hazy weather. At half past one in the afternoon, it blew a perfect hurricane, so that I judged it highly dangerous to run any longer before it, and, therefore, brought the ships to with their heads to the southward, under the foresails and mizen stay-sails. At this time the *Resolution* sprung a leak, which, at first, alarmed us not a little. It was found to be under the starboard buttock; where, from the bread-room, we could both hear and see the water rush in, and, as we then thought, two feet under water. But in this we were happily mistaken; for it was afterward found to be even with the water-line, if not above it, when the ship was upright. It was no sooner discovered, than the fish-room was found to be full of water, and the casks in it afloat; but this was, in a great measure, owing to the water not finding its way to the pumps through the coals that lay in the bottom of the room; for after the water was baled out, which employed us till midnight, and had found its way directly from the leak to the pumps, it appeared that one pump kept it



under, which gave us no small satisfaction. In the evening, the wind veered to the S., and its fury in some degree ceased.

At five in the afternoon the summit of an elevated mountain appeared above the horizon, as was afterward found, forty leagues distant. We supposed it to be Beering's Mount St. Elias; and it stands by that name in our chart.

21. 10. 1792  
Liberia  
Since 1. 10. 1792  
adventured with  
to

## CHAPTER XX

MAY TO AUGUST 1778

THE SEARCH FOR A PASSAGE TO THE WEST—PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND AND ITS INHABITANTS—A STRANGE FASHION—MOUNT ST. AUGUSTIN—DISCOVERY OF COOK'S RIVER—NO PASSAGE THAT WAY—A PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE—TRACES OF RUSSIANS—DEATH OF MR. ANDERSON : AN ISLAND NAMED AFTER HIM.

IN the evening of the 16th of May, the weather cleared up, and we then found ourselves surrounded on every side by land. Our station was on the east side of the sound, in a place which in a chart is distinguished by the name of Snug Corner Bay ; and a very snug place it is. I went, accompanied by some of the officers, to view the head of it ; and we found that it was sheltered from all winds ; with a depth of water from seven to three fathoms over a muddy bottom. The land near the shore is low ; part clear, and part wooded. The clear ground was covered, two or three feet thick, with snow ; but very little lay in the woods. The very summits of the neighbouring hills were covered with wood ; but those farther inland seemed to be naked rocks buried in snow.

As the wind in the morning had become favourable for getting out to sea, I resolved to spend no more time in searching for a passage in a place that promised so little success. Besides this, I considered that if the land on the west should prove to be islands, agreeably to the late Russian discoveries, we could not fail of getting far enough to the north, and that in good time ; provided we did not lose the season in searching places where a passage was not only doubtful, but improbable. We were now upward of five hundred and twenty leagues to the westward of any part of Baffin's or of Hudson's Bay. And whatever passage there may be, it must be, or at least part of it

must lie to the north of latitude  $72^{\circ}$ . Who could expect to find a passage or strait of such extent?

Having thus taken my resolution, next morning, at three o'clock, we weighed, and with a gentle breeze at north, proceeded to the southward down the inlet to which I gave the name of Prince William's Sound.

The natives, who came to make us several visits while we were in the Sound, were generally not above the common height; though many of them were under it. They were square, or strong-chested; and the most disproportioned part of their body seemed to be their heads, which were very large, with thick short necks, and large, broad, or spreading faces; which, upon the whole, were flat. Their eyes, though not small, scarcely bore a proportion to the size of their faces; and their noses had full, round points, hooked, or turned up at the tip. Their teeth were broad, white, equal in size, and evenly set. Their hair was black, thick, straight and strong; and their beards, in general thin, or wanting; but the hairs about the lips of those who have them were stiff or bristly, and frequently of a brown colour. And several of the elderly men had even large and thick, but straight beards.

The men commonly wear their hair cropped round the neck and forehead; but the women allow it to grow long, and most of them tie a small lock of it on the crown, or a few club it behind, after our manner. Both sexes have the ears perforated with several holes about the outer and lower part of the edge, in which they hang little bunches of beads, made of the same tubulose shelly substance used for this purpose by those of Nootka. The septum of the nose is also perforated, through which they frequently thrust the quill-feathers of small birds, or little bending ornaments made of the above shelly substance, strung on a stiff string or cord three or four inches long, which give



them a truly grotesque appearance. But the most uncommon and unsightly ornamental fashion adopted by some of both sexes, is their having the under lip slit, or cut quite through in the direction of the mouth, a little below the swelling part. This incision, which is made even in the sucking children, is often above two inches long; and either by its natural retraction when the wound is fresh, or by the repetition of some artificial management, assumes the true shape of lips, and become so large as to admit the tongue through. This happened to be the case, when the first person having this incision was seen by one of the seamen, who called out that the man had two mouths, and, indeed it does not look unlike it. In this artificial mouth they stick a flat narrow ornament, made chiefly out of a solid shell or bone, cut into little narrow pieces like small teeth, almost down to the base or thickest part, which has a small projecting bit at each end that supports it when put into the divided lip, the cut part then appearing outward. Others have the lower lip only perforated into separate holes, and then the ornament consists of as many distinct shelly studs, whose points are pushed through these holes; and their heads appear within the lip, as another row of teeth immediately under their own.

After leaving Prince William's Sound, I steered to the south-west, with a gentle breeze at north north-east.

At daybreak the next morning, being the 26th of May, having got to the northward of the Barren Isles, we discovered more land, extending from Cape Douglas to the north. It formed a chain of mountains of vast height, one of which, far more conspicuous than the rest, was named Mount Saint Augustin. The discovery of this land did not discourage us, as it was supposed to be wholly unconnected with the land of Cape Elizabeth. We also thought that there was a passage to the N.W., between

Cape Douglas and Mount St. Augustin. In short, it was imagined, that the land on our larboard to the N. of Cape Douglas was composed of a group of islands, disjoined by so many channels, any one of which we might make use of according as the wind should serve.

With these flattering ideas, having a fresh gale at N.N.E., we stood to the N.W. till eight o'clock, when we clearly saw that what we had taken for islands were summits of mountains, everywhere connected by lower land, which the haziness of the horizon had prevented us from seeing at a greater distance. This land was everywhere covered with snow, from the tops of the hills down to the very sea-beach, and had every other appearance of being part of a great continent. I was now fully persuaded that I should find no passage by this inlet; and my persevering in the search of it here was more to satisfy other people than to confirm my own opinion.

Between one and two in the morning of the 30th of May, we weighed again with the first of the flood, the gale having by this time quite abated, but still continuing contrary, so that we plied up till near seven o'clock, when the tide being done, we anchored in nineteen fathoms, under the same shore as before. About noon two canoes with a man in each came off to the ship, from near the place where we had seen the smoke the preceding day. They laboured very hard in paddling across the strong tide, and hesitated a little before they would come quite close; but, upon signs being made to them, they approached. One of them talked a great deal to no purpose, for we did not understand a word he said. He kept pointing to the shore, which we interpreted to be an invitation to go thither. They accepted a few trifles from me, which I conveyed to them from the quarter gallery. These men in every respect resembled the people we had met with in Prince William's Sound,

as to their persons and dress. Their canoes were also of the same construction. One of our visitors had his face painted jet black, and seemed to have no beard; but the other, who was more elderly, had no paint, and a considerable beard, with a visage much like the common sort of the Prince William's people. There was also smoke seen upon the flat western shore this day, from whence we may infer, that these lower spots and islands are the only inhabited places.

When the flood made, we weighed, and then the canoes left us. I stood over to the western shore, with a fresh gale at N.N.E., and fetched under the point above mentioned. This, with the other on the opposite shore, contracted the channel to the breadth of four leagues. Through this channel ran a prodigious tide. It looked frightful to us, who could not tell whether the agitation of the water was occasioned by the stream, or by the breaking of the waves against rocks or sands. As we met with no shoal, it was concluded to be the former; but in the end we found ourselves mistaken. I now kept the western shore aboard, it appearing to be the safest. Near the shore we had a depth of thirteen fathoms; and two or three miles off, forty and upward. At eight in the evening, we anchored under a point of land which bore N.E., three leagues distant, in fifteen fathoms water. Here we lay during the ebb, which ran near five knots in the hour.

Until we got thus far, the water had retained the same degree of saltness at low as at high water, and at both periods was as salt as that in the ocean. But now the marks of a river displayed themselves. The water taken up this ebb, when at the lowest, was found to be very considerably fresher than any we had hitherto tasted, insomuch, that I was convinced that we were in a large river, and not in a strait, communicating with the northern seas. But as



we had proceeded thus far, I was desirous of having stronger proofs, and therefore weighed with the next flood in the morning of the 31st, and plied higher up, or rather drove up with the tide, for we had but little wind.

The weather was misty, with drizzling rain, and clear by turns. At the clear intervals, we saw an opening between the mountains on the eastern shore, bearing east from the station of the ships, with low land, which we supposed to be islands lying between us and the main land. Low land was also seen to the northward, that seemed to extend from the foot of the mountains on the one side to those on the other; and at low water we perceived large shoals stretching out from this low land, some of which were at no great distance from us. From these appearances, we were in some doubt whether the inlet did not take an easterly direction, through the above opening, or whether that opening was only a branch of it, and the main channel continued its northern direction through the low land now in sight. The continuation and direction of the chain of mountains on each side of it strongly indicated the probability of the latter supposition. To determine this point, and to examine the shoals, I despatched two boats, under the command of the master; and, as soon as the flood-tide made, followed with the ships; but, as it was a dead calm, and the tide strong, I anchored, after driving about ten miles in an east direction. At the lowest of the preceding ebb, the water at the surface, and for near a foot below it, was found to be perfectly fresh; retaining, however, a considerable degree of saltness at a greater depth. Besides this, we had now many other and but too evident proofs of being in a great river; such as low shores, very thick and muddy water, large trees, and all manner of dirt and rubbish, floating up and down with the tide. In the afternoon the natives, in several canoes, paid us another

visit; and trafficked with our people for some time, without ever giving us reason to accuse them of any act of dishonesty.

At two o'clock next morning, being the 1st of June, the master returned, and reported that he found the inlet, or rather river, contracted to the breadth of one league, by low land on each side, through which it took a northerly direction. He proceeded three leagues through this narrow part, which he found navigable for the largest ships, being from twenty to seventeen fathoms deep. The least water, at a proper distance from the shore and shoals, was ten fathoms; and this was before he entered the narrow part. While the ebb or stream ran down, the water was perfectly fresh; but after the flood made, it became brackish; and, toward high water, very much so, even as high up as he went. He landed upon an island, which lies between this branch and the eastern one; and upon it saw some currant bushes, with the fruit already set, and some other fruit-trees and bushes unknown to him. All hopes of finding a passage were now given up.

If the discovery of this great river,<sup>1</sup> which promises to vie with the most considerable ones already known to be capable of extensive inland navigation, should prove of use either to the present or to any future age, the time we spent in it ought to be the less regretted. But to us, who had a much greater object in view, the delay thus occasioned was an essential loss. The season was advancing apace. We knew not how far we might have to proceed to the south; and we were now convinced that the continent of North America extended farther to the west than, from the modern most reputable charts, we had reason

<sup>1</sup> Captain Cook having here left a blank which he had not filled up with any particular name, Lord Sandwich directed, with the greatest propriety, that it should be called Cook's River.

to expect. This made the existence of a passage into Baffin's or Hudson's Bays less probable, or, at least, showed it to be of greater extent. It was a satisfaction to me, however, to reflect that, if I had not examined this very considerable inlet, it would have been assumed, by speculative fabricators of geography, as a fact that it communicated with the sea to the north, or with Baffin's or Hudson's Bay to the east; and been marked, perhaps, on future maps of the world, with greater precision, and more certain signs of reality, than the invisible, because imaginary, Straits of de Fuca, and de Fonte.

The weather in the afternoon became gloomy, and at length turned to a mist, and the wind blew fresh at E. I therefore, at ten at night, hauled the wind to the southward till daybreak, when we resumed our course to the W. Daylight availed us little, for the weather was so thick that we could not see a hundred yards before us; but as the wind was now moderate, I ventured to run. At half-past four, we were alarmed at hearing the sound of breakers on our larboard bow. On heaving the lead, we found twenty-eight fathoms water, and the next cast twenty-five. I immediately brought the ship to, with her head to the northward, and anchored in this last depth, over a bottom of coarse sand, calling the *Discovery*, she being close to us, to anchor also.

A few hours after, the fog having cleared away a little, it appeared that we had escaped very imminent danger. We found ourselves three-quarters of a mile from the N.E. side of an island. Two elevated rocks were about half a league each from us, and about the same distance from each other. There were several breakers about them, and yet Providence had, in the dark, conducted the



ships through between these rocks, which I should not have ventured in a clear day, and to such an anchoring-place, that I could not have chosen a better.

We had now land in every direction; that to the S. extended to the S.W., in a ridge of mountains, but our sight could not determine whether it composed one or more islands. We afterward found it to be only one island, and known by the name of Oonalashka.

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who had been lingering under a consumption for more than twelve months, expired between three and four this afternoon. He was a sensible young man, and an agreeable companion, well skilled in his own profession, and had acquired considerable knowledge of other branches of science. Had it pleased God to have spared his life, the public, I make no doubt, might have received from him such communications, on various parts of the natural history of the several places we visited, as would have abundantly shown that he was not unworthy of this commendation. Soon after he had breathed his last, land was seen to the westward, twelve leagues distant. It was supposed to be an island; and, to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard, I named it Anderson's Island.

## CHAPTER XXI

AUGUST 1778 TO JANUARY 1779

THE SHORE OF NORTHERN ASIA—BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES—THE "BLINK"—GREAT NUMBERS OF SEA-HORSES—USED FOR FOOD—TOO LATE IN THE YEAR FOR FURTHER SEARCH FOR A PASSAGE—THE RETURN FROM NORTH CAPE TO OONALASHIKA—DISCOVERY OF OWHYHEE (HAWAII)—THOUSANDS OF CANOES—THE SHIPS ANCHOR IN KARAKAKOOA BAY—END OF CAPTAIN COOK'S JOURNAL.

At daybreak in the morning of the 10th, were resumed our course to the west for the land we had seen the preceding evening. Between the south-west extreme, and a point which bore west, two leagues distant, the shore forms a large bay, in which we anchored at ten o'clock in the forenoon. As we were standing into this bay, we perceived on the north shore a village, and some people, whom the sight of the ships seemed to have thrown into confusion or fear. We could plainly see persons running up the country with burdens upon their backs. At these habitations, I proposed to land; and accordingly went with three armed boats, accompanied by some of the officers. About thirty or forty men, each armed with a spontoon, a bow, and arrows, stood drawn up on a rising ground close by the village. As we drew near, three of them came down toward the shore, and were so polite as to take off their caps, and to make us low bows. We returned the civility: but this did not inspire them with sufficient confidence to wait for our landing; for the moment we put the boats ashore, they retired. I followed them alone without anything in my hand; and by signs and gestures prevailed on them to stop, and receive some trifling presents. In return for these, they gave me two fox-skins, and a couple of sea-horse teeth. I cannot say whether they or I made the first present; for it appeared to me, that they

had brought down with them these things for this very purpose ; and that they would have given them to me, even though I had made no return. They seemed very fearful and cautious ; expressing their desire by signs that no more of our people should be permitted to come up. On my laying my hand on the shoulder of one of them, he started back several paces. In proportion as I advanced, they retreated backward ; always in the attitude of being ready to make use of their spears ; while those on the rising ground stood ready to support them with their arrows. Insensibly, myself, and two or three of my companions, got in amongst them. A few beads, distributed to those about us, soon created a kind of confidence ; so that they were not alarmed when a few more of our people joined us ; and, by degrees, a sort of traffic between us commenced. In exchange for knives, beads, tobacco, and other articles, they gave us some of their clothing, and a few arrows. But nothing that we had to offer could induce them to part with a spear, or a bow. These they had in constant readiness, never once quitting them, except at one time, when four or five persons laid theirs down, while they gave us a song and a dance. And even then, they placed them in such a manner, that they could lay hold of them in an instant ; and for their security, they desired us to sit down.

After a stay of between two and three hours with these people, we returned to our ships ; and soon after, the wind veering to the south, we weighed anchor, stood out of the bay, and steered to the north-east, between the coast and the two islands.

Some time before noon we perceived a brightness in the northern horizon, like that reflected from ice, commonly called the blink. It was little noticed, from a supposition that it was improbable we should meet with ice so soon.



And yet the sharpness of the air, and gloominess of the weather, for two or three days past, seemed to indicate some sudden change. About an hour after, the sight of a large field of ice left us no longer in doubt about the cause of the brightness of the horizon. At half past two, we tacked, close to the edge of the ice, in twenty-two fathoms water, not being able to stand on any farther. For the ice was quite impenetrable, and extended from west by south to east by north, as far as the eye could reach. Here were abundance of sea-horses; some in the water, but far more upon the ice. I had the thoughts of hoisting out the boats to kill some; but the wind freshening, I gave up the design, and continued to ply to the southward.

We now stood to the southward, and, after running six leagues, shoaled the water to seven fathoms; but it soon deepened to nine fathoms. At this time the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up a little, we saw land extending from south to south-east by east, about three or four miles distant. The eastern extreme forms a point, which was much encumbered with ice; for which reason it obtained the name of Icy Cape. The other extreme of the land was lost in the horizon; so that there can be no doubt of its being a continuation of the American continent. The *Discovery* being about a mile astern, and to leeward, found less water than we did, and tacking on that account, I was obliged to tack also, to prevent separation. Our situation was now more and more critical. We were in shoal water upon a lee shore; and the main body of the ice to windward, driving down upon us. It was evident that if we remained much longer between it and the land, it would force us ashore, unless it should happen to take the ground before us. It seemed nearly to join the land to leeward; and the only direction that was open was to

the south-west. After making a short board to the northward, I made the signal for the *Discovery* to tack, and tacked myself at the same time. The wind proved rather favourable, so that we lay up south-west, and south-west by west.

At eight in the morning of the 19th, the wind veering back to west, I tacked to the northward. In this situation we had a good deal of drift-ice about us; and the main ice was about two leagues to the north. At half past one we got in with the edge of it. It was not so compact as that which we had seen to the northward; but it was too close, and in too large pieces, to attempt forcing the ships through it. On the ice lay a prodigious number of sea-horses; and as we were in want of fresh provisions, the boats from each ship were sent to get some. By seven o'clock in the evening, we had received on board the *Resolution* nine of these animals, which, till now, we had supposed to be sea-cows, so that were we not a little disappointed, especially some of the seamen, who, for the novelty of the thing, had been feasting their eyes for some days past. Nor would they have been disappointed now, nor have known the difference, if we had not happened to have one or two on board, who had been in Greenland, and declared what animals these were, and that no one ever ate of them. But notwithstanding this, we lived upon them as long as they lasted; and there were few on board who did not prefer them to our salt meat.

The fat at first is as sweet as marrow; but in a few days it grows rancid, unless it be salted, in which state it will keep much longer. The lean flesh is coarse, black, and has rather a strong taste, and the heart is nearly as well tasted as that of a bullock. The fat when melted yields a good deal of oil, which burns very well in lamps, and their hides, which are very thick, were very useful about our rigging. The teeth, or tusks, of most of them were at this

time very small, even some of the largest and oldest of these animals had them not exceeding six inches in length. From this we concluded that they had lately shed their old teeth. They lie in herds of many hundreds upon the ice, huddling over one or other like swine, and roar or bray very loud ; so that in the night, or in foggy weather, they gave us notice of the vicinity of the ice, before we could see it. We never found the whole herd asleep, some being always upon the watch. These, on the approach of the boat, would wake those next to them, and the alarm being thus gradually communicated, the whole herd would be awake presently. But they were seldom in a hurry to get away, till after they had been once fired at. Then they would tumble one over the other into the sea, in the utmost confusion. And if we did not, at the first discharge, kill those we fired at, we generally lost them, though mortally wounded. They did not appear to us to be that dangerous animal some authors have described, not even when attacked. They are rather more so to appearance than in reality. Vast numbers of them would follow, and come close up to the boats ; but the flash of a musket in the pan, or even the bare pointing of one at them, would send them down in an instant. The female will defend the young one to the very last, and at the expense of her own life, whether in the water or upon the ice. Nor will the young one quit the dam, though she be dead, so that, if you kill one, you are sure of the other. The dam, when in the water, holds the young one between her fore-fins.

Mr. Pennant has given a very good description of this animal, under the name of Arctic Walrus ; but I have nowhere seen a good drawing of one. Why they should be called sea-horses is hard to say, unless the word be a corruption of the Russian name Morse ; for they have



not the least resemblance of a horse. This is, without doubt, the same animal that is found in the Gulf of St. Laurence, and there called sea-cow. It is certainly more like a cow than a horse, but this likeness consists in nothing but the snout. In short, it is an animal like a seal, but incomparably larger.

The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost is expected to set in so near at hand, that I did not think it consistent with prudence, to make any farther attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year, in any direction ; so little was the prospect of succeeding. My attention was now directed toward finding out some place where we might supply ourselves with wood and water ; and the object uppermost in my thoughts was, how I should spend the winter, so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and, at the same time, be in a condition to return to the north, in farther search of a passage, the ensuing summer.

*The ships then returned from North Cape along the coast of Asia, then down the American coast to Oonalashka. Russians were met with, and many natives, but the voyage was uneventful.*

*Cook now made for the Sandwich Islands once more, and discovered another island named Owhyhee (Hawaii).*

I continued to steer to the southward, till daylight in the morning of the 25th, at which time we were in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 55'$ . I now spread the ships, and steered to the west. In the evening, we joined ; and at midnight brought to. At daybreak, next morning, land was seen extending from south-south-east to west. We made sail, and stood for it. At eight, it extended from south-east half south, to west ; the nearest part two leagues distant. It was supposed that we saw the extent of the land to the east, but not to the west. We were now satisfied, that the group

of the Sandwich Islands had been only imperfectly discovered; as those of them which we had visited in our progress northward, all lie to the leeward of our present station. In the country was an elevated saddle hill, whose summit appeared above the clouds. From this hill the land fell in a gentle slope, and terminated in a steep, rocky coast, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. Finding that we could not weather the island, I bore up, and ranged along the coast to the westward.

In the afternoon of the 30th, being off the north-east end of the island, several canoes came off to the ships. Most of these belonged to a chief named Terrecoboo, who came in one of them. He made me a present of two or three small pigs; and we got, by barter, from the other people, a little fruit. After a stay of about two hours, they all left us, except six or eight of their company, who chose to remain on board. A double-sailing canoe came, soon after, to attend upon them; which we towed astern all night. In the evening, we discovered another island to windward, which the natives call Owhyhee. The name of that off which we had been for some days, we were also told, is Mowee.

Finding that we could fetch Owhyhee, I stood for it; and our visitors from Mowee not choosing to accompany us, embarked in their canoe, and went ashore. At seven in the evening, we were close up with the north side of Owhyhee; where we spent the night, standing off and on. In the morning of the 2d, we were surprised to see the summits of the mountains on Owhyhee covered with snow. They did not appear to be of any extraordinary height; and yet, in some places, the snow seemed to be of a considerable depth, and to have lain there some time. As we drew near the shore, some of the natives came off to us. They were a little shy at first; but we soon enticed

some of them on board ; and at last prevailed upon them to return to the island, and bring off what we wanted.

At daybreak on the 16th, seeing the appearance of a bay, I sent Mr. Bligh, with a boat from each ship to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. Canoes now began to arrive from all parts ; so that before ten o'clock there were not fewer than a thousand about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs and other productions of the island. We had the most satisfying proof of their friendly intentions ; for we did not see a single person who had with him a weapon of any sort. Trade and curiosity alone had brought them off. Among such numbers as we had, at times, on board, it is no wonder that some should betray a thievish disposition. One of our visitors took out of the ship a boat's rudder. He was discovered, but too late to recover it. I thought this a good opportunity to show these people the use of fire-arms ; and two or three muskets, and as many four-pounders, were fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. As it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened. In the evening Mr. Bligh returned, and reported that he had found a bay in which was good anchorage, and fresh water, in a situation tolerably easy to be come at. Into this bay I resolved to carry the ships, there to refit, and supply ourselves with every refreshment that the place could afford. As night approached, the greater part of our visitors retired to the shore ; but numbers of them requested our permission to sleep on board. Curiosity was not the only motive, at least with some ; for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to entertain so many another night.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon we anchored in the



bay (which is called by the natives Karakakooa), in thirteen fathoms' water, over a sandy bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the north-east shore. In this situation, the south point of the bay bore south by west, and the north point west half north. We moored with the stream-anchor and cable to the northward, unbent the sails, and struck the yards and topmasts. The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere, in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place. For besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene; and perhaps there were few on board who now lamented our having failed in our endeavours to find a northern passage homeward, last summer. To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed, in many respects, to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.

[Here Captain Cook's Journal ends. The remaining transactions of the voyage are related by Captain King.]

*From Captain King's Journal*

CHAPTER XXII

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 1779

KARAKAKOOA BAY IN OWHYHEE (HAWAII)—CHIEFS AND A PRIEST COME ABOARD—CAPTAIN COOK IS RECEIVED AS THE GOD ORONO—HE IS WORSHIPPED—THE NATIVES PROSTRATE THEMSELVES WHENEVER COOK GOES ASHORE—DEATH OF AN OLD SEAMAN—BURIAL ASHORE—PLANS FOR DEPARTURE—RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY SAIL AWAY IN CALM WEATHER.

KARAKAKOOA BAY is situated on the west side of the island of Owhyhee, in a district called Akona. It is about a mile in depth, and bounded by two low points of land at the distance of half a league, and bearing south south-east and north north-west from each other. On the north point, which is flat and barren, stands the village of Kowrowa; and in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of tall cocoa-nut trees, there is another village of a more considerable size, called Kakooa: between them runs a high rocky cliff, inaccessible from the sea-shore. On the south side, the coast, for about a mile inland, has a rugged appearance; beyond which the country rises with a gradual ascent, and is overspread with cultivated inclosures and groves of cocoa-nut trees, where the habitations of the natives are scattered in great numbers. The shore, all around the bay, is covered with a black coral rock, which makes the landing very dangerous in rough weather; except at the village of Kakooa, where there is a fine sandy beach, with a Morai, or burying-place, at one extremity, and a small well of fresh water at the other. This bay appearing to Captain Cook a proper place to refit the ships, and lay in an additional supply of water and provisions, we moored on the north side, about a

quarter of a mile from the shore, Kowrowa bearing north-west. As soon as the inhabitants perceived our intention of anchoring in the bay, they came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting, and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. The sides, the decks, and rigging of both ships were soon completely covered with them; and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came swimming round us in shoals; many of whom not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water.

Among the chiefs who came on board the *Resolution*, was a young man, called Parcea, whom we soon perceived to be a person of great authority. On presenting himself to Captain Cook, he told him, that he was *Jakanee* to the king of the island, who was at that time engaged on a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few presents from Captain Cook attached him entirely to our interests, and he became exceedingly useful to us in the management of his countrymen, as we had soon occasion to experience. For we had not been long at anchor, when it was observed that the *Discovery* had such a number of people hanging on one side, as occasioned her to heel considerably; and that the men were unable to keep off the crowds which continued pressing into her. Captain Cook, being apprehensive that she might suffer some injury, pointed out the danger to Pareca, who immediately went to their assistance, cleared the ship of its incumbrances, and drove away the canoes that surrounded her.

The authority of the chiefs over the inferior people appeared, from this incident, to be of the most despotic kind. A similar instance of it happened the same day on board the *Resolution*; where the crowd being so great



as to impede the necessary business of the ship, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Kaneena, another of their chiefs, who had likewise attached himself to Captain Cook. The inconvenience we laboured under being made known, he immediately ordered his countrymen to quit the vessel; and we were not a little surprised to see them jump overboard, without a moment's hesitation; all except one man, who loitering behind, and showing some unwillingness to obey, Kaneena took him up in his arms, and threw him into the sea. Both these chiefs were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena especially, whose portrait was drawn by Mr. Webber, was one of the finest men I ever saw. He was about six feet high, had regular and expressive features, with lively, dark eyes; his carriage was easy, firm, and graceful.

Soon after the *Resolution* had got into her station, our two friends, Parcea and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief, named Koah, who, we were told, was a priest, and had been, in his youth, a distinguished warrior. He was a little old man, of an emaciated figure; his eyes exceedingly sore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous scurf, the effects of an immoderate use of the *ava*. Being led into the cabin, he approached Captain Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, which he had brought along with him. Then stepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a small pig, which he held in his hand, whilst he pronounced a discourse that lasted for a considerable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our stay at Owhyhee, and appeared to us, from many circumstances, to be a sort of religious adoration. Their idols we found always arrayed with red cloth, in the same manner as was done to Captain Cook; and a small pig was their

usual offering to the *Eatooas*. Their speeches, or prayers, were uttered too with a readiness and volubility that indicated them to be according to some formulary.

When this ceremony was over, Koah dined with Captain Cook, eating plentifully of what was set before him; but, like the rest of the inhabitants of the islands in these seas, could scarcely be prevailed on to taste a second time our wine or spirits. In the evening, Captain Cook, attended by Mr. Bayly and myself, accompanied him on shore. We landed at the beach, and were received by four men, who carried wands tipped with dogs' hair, and marched before us, pronouncing with a loud voice a short sentence, in which we could only distinguish the word *Orono*. The crowd which had been collected on the shore retired at our approach; and not a person was to be seen, except a few lying prostrate on the ground, near the huts of the adjoining village.

Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the *Morai*, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at *Kakooa*. It was a square solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height. The top was flat and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives, sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail on each side by a stone wall, which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country were five poles, upward of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold; on the opposite side, toward the sea, stood two small houses, with a covered communication.

We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by

an easy ascent, leading from the beach to the north-west corner of the area. At the entrance, we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Captain Cook to the images; and after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the Morai where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a semi-circular form, and before the middle figure stood a high stand or table exactly resembling the *Whatta* of Otaheite, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the Captain under this stand, took down the hog, and held it toward him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground, and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw, coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the Morai, ten men carrying a live hog, and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they stopped and prostrated themselves; and Kaireেকেea, the young men above-mentioned, went to them, and receiving the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the Captain, and afterward offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireেকেea with the same ceremony. Whilst Captain Cook was aloft, in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireেকেea and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert, and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable



time ; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the Captain descended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the centre, which, from its being covered with red cloth, appeared to be in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself, and kissed it, desiring Captain Cook to do the same ; who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony.

We were now led back into the other division of the Morai, where there was a space, ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we descended, and Captain Cook was seated between two wooden idols, Koah supporting one of his arms, whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time, arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog, and a pudding, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireekcea put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Captain Cook in the usual manner, began the same kind of chant as before, his companions making regular responses. We observed, that after every response, their parts became gradually shorter, till, toward the close, Kaireekcea's consisted of only two or three words, which the rest answered by the word *Orono*.

When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down, fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables, and break the cocoa-nuts ; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the *ava* ; which is done, by chewing it in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekcea then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and wrapping it in a piece of cloth rubbed with

it the Captain's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. The *ava* was then handed round, and after we had tasted it, Koah and Pareea began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person; but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him.

When this last ceremony was finished, which Captain Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, we quitted the Morai, after distributing amongst the people some pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they seemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the same words as before. The people again retired, and the few that remained, prostrated themselves as we passed along the shore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had seen, and extremely well satisfied with the good dispositions of our new friends. The meaning of the various ceremonies with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and singularity, have been related at length, can only be the subject of conjectures, and those uncertain and partial; they were, however, without doubt, expressive of high respect on the part of the natives; and, as far as related to the person of Captain Cook, they seemed approaching to adoration.

During the rest of the time we remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook came on shore, he was attended by one of these priests, who went before him, giving notice that the *Orono* had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of

the boat, with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling, and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever he stopped at the observatory, Kaireekkea and his brethren immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c. and presented them with the usual solemnities. It was on these occasions that some of the inferior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the *Orono*. When this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances; whilst Kaireekkea and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns.

This day died William Watman, a seaman of the gunner's crew; an event which I mention the more particularly, as death had hitherto been very rare amongst us. He was an old man, and much respected on account of his attachment to Captain Cook. He had formerly served as a marine twenty-one years; after which he entered as a seaman on board the *Resolution* in 1772, and served with Captain Cook in his voyage toward the South Pole. At their return, he was admitted into Greenwich Hospital, through the Captain's interest, at the same time with himself; and being resolved to follow throughout the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it along with him, on his being appointed to the command of the present expedition. During the voyage he had frequently been subject to slight fevers, and was a convalescent when we came into the bay, where, being sent on shore for a few days, he conceived himself partly recovered, and, at his own desire, returned on board; but the day following, he had a paralytic stroke, which in two days more carried him off.



At the request of the king of the island, he was buried on the Morai, and the ceremony was performed with as much solemnity as our situation permitted. Old Kaoo and his brethren were spectators, and preserved the most profound silence and attention whilst the service was reading. When we began to fill up the grave, they approached it with great reverence, threw in a dead pig, some cocoa-nuts, and plaintains; and, for three nights afterward, they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs, and performing their usual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, which continued till daybreak. At the head of the grave, we erected a post, and nailed upon it a square piece of board, on which was inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. This they promised not to remove; and we have no doubt, but that it will be suffered to remain, as long as the frail materials of which it is made will permit.

Terrecoboo, and his chiefs, had, for some days past, been very inquisitive about the time of our departure. This circumstance had excited in me a great curiosity to know what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas respecting the cause and objects of our voyage. I took some pains to satisfy myself on these points; but could never learn anything farther, than that they imagined we came from some country where provisions had failed; and that our visit to them was merely for the purpose of filling our bellies. Indeed, the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase and carry off as much as we were able, led them, naturally enough, to such a conclusion. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides and patting the bellies of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks, during our

short stay in the island), and telling them, partly by signs, and partly by words, that it was time for them to go; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants. We had now been sixteen days in the bay; and if our enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables be considered, it need not be wondered, that they should wish to see us take our leave. It is very probable, however, that Terrecoboo had no other view in his inquiries, at present, than a desire of making sufficient preparation for dismissing us with presents suitable to the respect and kindness with which he had received us. For, on our telling him we should leave the island on the next day but one, we observed, that a sort of proclamation was immediately made through the villages, to require the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the king to present to the Orono on his departure.

Early in the morning of the 4th, we unmoored, and sailed out of the bay, with the *Discovery* in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. Captain Cook's design was to finish the survey of Owhyhee, before he visited the other islands, in hopes of meeting with a road better sheltered than the bay we had just left; and in case of not succeeding here, he purposed to take a view of the south-east part of Mowee, where the natives informed us we should find an excellent harbour. We had calm weather all this and the following day, which made our progress to the northward very slow. We were accompanied by a great number of the natives in their canoes; and Terrecoboo gave a fresh proof of his friendship to Captain Cook, by a large present of hogs and vegetables, that was sent after him.

## CHAPTER XXIII

FEBRUARY 1779

THE SHIP'S FOREMAST GIVES WAY—COOK DECIDES TO RETURN TO KARAKAKOOA BAY—SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES—UNPLEASANT INCIDENTS—THE DISCOVERY'S CUTTER STOLEN—COOK GOES ASHORE TO BRING BACK THE KING AS A HOSTAGE—FAILS IN THE OBJECT—THREATENING BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES—COOK FIRES AND KILLS A MAN—COOK ORDERS THE BOATS TO CEASE FIRE—COOK IS STABBED IN THE BACK AND KILLED.

AT midnight, a gale of wind came on, which obliged us to double reef the topsails, and get down the top-gallant yards. On the 8th, at daybreak, we found that the foremast had again given way, the fishes which were put on the head, in King George's or Nootka Sound, on the coast of America, being sprung, and the parts so very defective, as to make it absolutely necessary to replace them, and, of course, to unstep the mast. In this difficulty Captain Cook was for some time in doubt, whether he should run the chance of meeting with a harbour in the islands to leeward, or return to Karakakooa. That bay was not so remarkably commodious, in any respect, but that a better might probably be expected, both for the purpose of repairing the masts, and for procuring refreshments, of which it was imagined that the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had been already pretty well drained. On the other hand, it was considered as too great a risk to leave a place that was tolerably sheltered, and which, once left, could not be regained, for the mere hopes of meeting with a better; the failure of which might perhaps have left us without resource. We therefore continued standing on toward the land. During the remainder of the day we kept beating to windward, and, before night, we were within a mile of the bay; but not choosing to



run on while it was dark, we stood off and on till daylight next morning, when we dropped anchor nearly in the same place as before.

Upon coming to anchor, we were surprised to find our reception very different from what it had been on our first arrival; no shouts, no bustle, no confusion; but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along the shore. The impulse of curiosity, which had before operated to so great a degree, might now indeed be supposed to have ceased; but the hospitable treatment we had invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us some reason to expect that they would again have flocked about us with great joy on our return. We were forming various conjectures upon the occasion of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat, which had been sent on shore, and brought us word, that Terreeboo was absent, and had left the bay under the taboo. Though this account appeared very satisfactory to most of us, yet others were of opinion, or rather, perhaps, have been led, by subsequent events, to imagine, that there was something at this time very suspicious in the behaviour of the natives; and that the interdiction of all intercourse with us, on pretence of the king's absence, was only to give him time to consult with his chiefs in what manner it might be proper to treat us. Whether these suspicions were well founded, or the account given by the natives was the truth, we were never able to ascertain. For though it is not improbable that our sudden return, for which they could see no apparent cause, and the necessity of which we afterward found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occasion some alarm; yet the unsuspicious conduct of Terreeboo, who, on his supposed arrival, the next morning, came immediately to visit

Captain Cook, and the consequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourse with us, are strong proofs that they neither meant nor apprehended any change of conduct.

Toward the evening of that day, the officer who commanded the watering-party of the *Discovery* came to inform me, that several chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling down the casks to the shore. He told me, at the same time, that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to give him some farther disturbance.

During our absence, a difference of a more serious and unpleasant nature had happened. The officer, who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board with the goods which had been restored, observing Captain Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe, which was left drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately, this canoe belonged to Pareea, who arriving, at the same moment, from on board the *Discovery*, claimed his property, with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Captain Cook, a scuffle ensued, in which Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an oar. The natives, who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones as forced them to retreat with great precipitation, and swim off to a rock, at some distance from the shore. The pinnace was immediately ransacked by the islanders; and, but for the timely interposition of Pareea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow, and forgot it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished.

Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people, that they might come and take possession of the pinnacle, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe, with a midshipman's cap, and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and with much apparent concern at what had happened, asked, if the Orono would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day? On being assured that he should be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers, in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Captain Cook was informed of what had passed, he expressed much uneasiness at it, and as we were returning on board, "I am afraid," said he, "that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for," he added, "they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening, he contented himself with giving orders, that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was executed, I returned on shore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the events of the day, I posted a double guard on the Morai, with orders to call me if they saw any men lurking about the beach. At about eleven o'clock, five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the Morai; they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and, at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight, one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him; on which the men fled, and we passed the remainder of the night without further disturbance.

Next morning, at daylight, I went on board the *Resolution*



for the timekeeper, and, in my way, was hailed by the *Discovery*, and informed that their cutter had been stolen during the night from the buoy where it was moored. When I arrived on board, I found the marines arming, and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever anything of consequence was lost at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king, or some of the principal Erees, on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion ; and, at the same time, had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them, if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay ; and, before I left the ship, some great-guns had been fired at two large canoes, that were attempting to make their escape.

It was between seven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ship together ; Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips and nine marines with him ; and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were, to quiet the minds of the natives on our side of the bay, by assuring them they should not be hurt ; to keep my people together ; and to be on my guard. We then parted : the captain went toward Kowrowa, where the king resided ; and I proceeded to the beach. My first care, on going ashore, was to give strict orders to the marines to remain within their tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not

to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the object of the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found that they had already heard of the cutter's being stolen, and I assured them, that though Captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet.

In the mean time, Captain Cook having called off the launch, which was stationed at the north point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect; the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was to inquire for Terreeboo and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the *Resolution*. In a short time the boys returned along with the natives, who had been sent in search of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the house where the king had slept. They found the old man just awoke from sleep; and after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and spend the day on board the *Resolution*. To this proposal the king readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party

having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kaneekabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and, with many tears and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two chiefs who came along with her laid hold of him, and insisting that he should go no farther, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great-guns and the appearances of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their king. In this situation, the lieutenant of marines observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the captain to draw them up along the rocks, close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was sitting. All this time the old king remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continuing to urge him in the most pressing manner, to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who stood round him, interposed at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterward, having recourse to force and violence, insisted on his staying where he was. Captain Cook, therefore, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point; observing to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board, without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.



Though the enterprise which had carried Captain Cook on shore had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger, till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay, having fired at some canoes that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, just as he had left the king, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it occasioned was very conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent off; and the men put on their war-mats, and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives, having in his hands a stone, and a long iron spike (which they call a *pahooa*), came up to the captain, flourishing his weapon by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain desired him to desist; but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small-shot. The man having his mat on which the shot was not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines; and one of the Erees attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his *pahooa*, but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt end of his musket. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness; and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy ; three more were dangerously wounded ; and the lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a *pahooa*, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing, and to pull in. If it be true, as some of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boatmen had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable that his humanity, on this occasion, proved fatal to him. For it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore, and surrounded by the enemy, who snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent commander ! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature ; since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed ; and was rather removed from the enjoyment, than cut off from the acquisition of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation, under their hardships, in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe ; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which

we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity.

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So died Captain Cook ; and the rest of the voyage, as Besant says in his little memoir, is " like the last act of a play whose hero has disappeared ". Captain Clerke was now in command ; and they sailed for Kamschatka, where they spend the summer ; then Japan, Macao, and the narrow seas, and so for home. But Captain Clerke did not live to complete the voyage : he died in August, and his place was taken by Captain Gore.

At Macao all journals, charts, drawings, and scientific observations were collected, and a search made for anything the sailors might have jotted down. This was done by order of the Admiralty, and was a wise provision as it prevented the scramble for publication which had happened before.

When they reached the Channel the wind was so strongly against them, that they had to sail along the west coast of Ireland to Stromness in the Orkneys. A month later they sailed for London—Captain King having gone on in advance with all the papers—and on 7th of October, 1780, " we lashed along the Sheer-hulk at Woolwich " ; and the long voyage was over.



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# QUESTIONS

## FIRST VOYAGE

### CHAPTER I

1. Where did the sea appear luminous? What was the cause?
2. What happened to Dr. Solander and the others when they climbed the mountain in Tierra del Fuego in search of plants?

### CHAPTER II

3. Look out Otahiete (or Tahiti) on the map.
4. What is bread-fruit?
5. State shortly in your own words the *rules* drawn up by Captain Cook for trading with the natives.

### CHAPTER III

6. Captain Cook seems to wonder what people will think of the way the natives were treated when the *Discovery* reached New Zealand. What do *you* think?
7. Describe a New Zealand canoe, and house.

### CHAPTER IV

8. What is an Eppah, or Heppah?
9. What quadrupeds did they find in New Zealand? And what makes up for the scarcity of animals?

### CHAPTER V

10. Look out Botany Bay on the map. How does Captain Cook describe it?
11. How were the natives of New Holland (or New South Wales) armed? Describe these weapons.

## CHAPTER VI

12. Explain the "dangerous situation" of the ship when she ran on the reef.

13. What was the expedient which "Mr. Monkhouse, one of my midshipmen", proposed? Was it successful?

## CHAPTER VII

14. "And now we thought ourselves happy in having regained a situation which, but two days before, it was the utmost object of our hope to quit." Explain this.

15. What happened when sickness broke out after they had left Batavia on the way home?

## SECOND VOYAGE

## CHAPTER VIII

16. What was the object of the second voyage?

17. Describe the appearance of the ice islands.

## CHAPTER IX

18. What was the symbol of peace or friendliness among the natives of New Zealand? What surprised the chief most when he came on board?

19. Write a note on the birds of New Zealand.

## CHAPTER X

20. Explain and describe "water-spouts". Where were they seen?

21. Tell the story of the boy, the white shirt, and Old Will the ram-goat.

## CHAPTER XI

22. Write a note on the "young man named Omai", and how he behaved in England.

23. Tell what happened when the old King Oree met Captain Cook again.



CHAPTER XII

24. " I must ask where these birds breed ? " (Peterels and albatrosses.) Why does Cook put the question ?
25. Describe the great southern ice-field.

CHAPTER XIII

26. What was the size and appearance of the " gigantic statues " on Easter Island ?
27. Write a note about the great naval review.

CHAPTER XIV

28. What was the tragical fate of the boat's crew when the *Adventure* was separated from the *Resolution* ?
29. What were the achievements of the second voyage ?

THIRD VOYAGE

CHAPTER XV

30. What was the object of the third voyage ?
31. What did the inscription in the bottle show ?

CHAPTER XVI

32. Account for the shyness of the natives when the ships returned to New Zealand.
33. Tell some of the queer or nasty habits of the natives in eating, clothes, and salutation.

CHAPTER XVII

34. Write a note on wrestling, boxing, and dancing in the Friendly Islands. What was the English " return " show ?
35. What was the " public solemnity " all about ? What form did it take ?

## CHAPTER XVIII

36. Write a note on "cockroaches".
37. How does Captain Cook speak of Omai? And what arrangements were made for him in Huaheine?

## CHAPTER XIX

38. What caused the natives of the Sandwich Islands most astonishment when they came on board? What did they ask about "beads"?
39. Describe the natives of Nootka Sound. Look out the place on the map.

## CHAPTER XX

40. Describe—or draw—a picture showing the extraordinary fashion in vogue among the natives of Prince William's Sound.
41. What made Captain Cook sure that he had discovered a great river—not a passage through the continent?

## CHAPTER XXI

42. What is the "blink"? And how is it caused?
43. How does Captain Cook conclude his journal?

## CHAPTER XXII

44. Tell how Captain Cook was worshipped as the god "Orono".
45. What may have upset the natives' belief that Captain Cook and his crew were "immortal"?

## CHAPTER XXIII

46. Why did the *Discovery* return to Karakakooa Bay? How were they received?
47. Tell in your own words the story of the death of Captain Cook.

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